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July 1972

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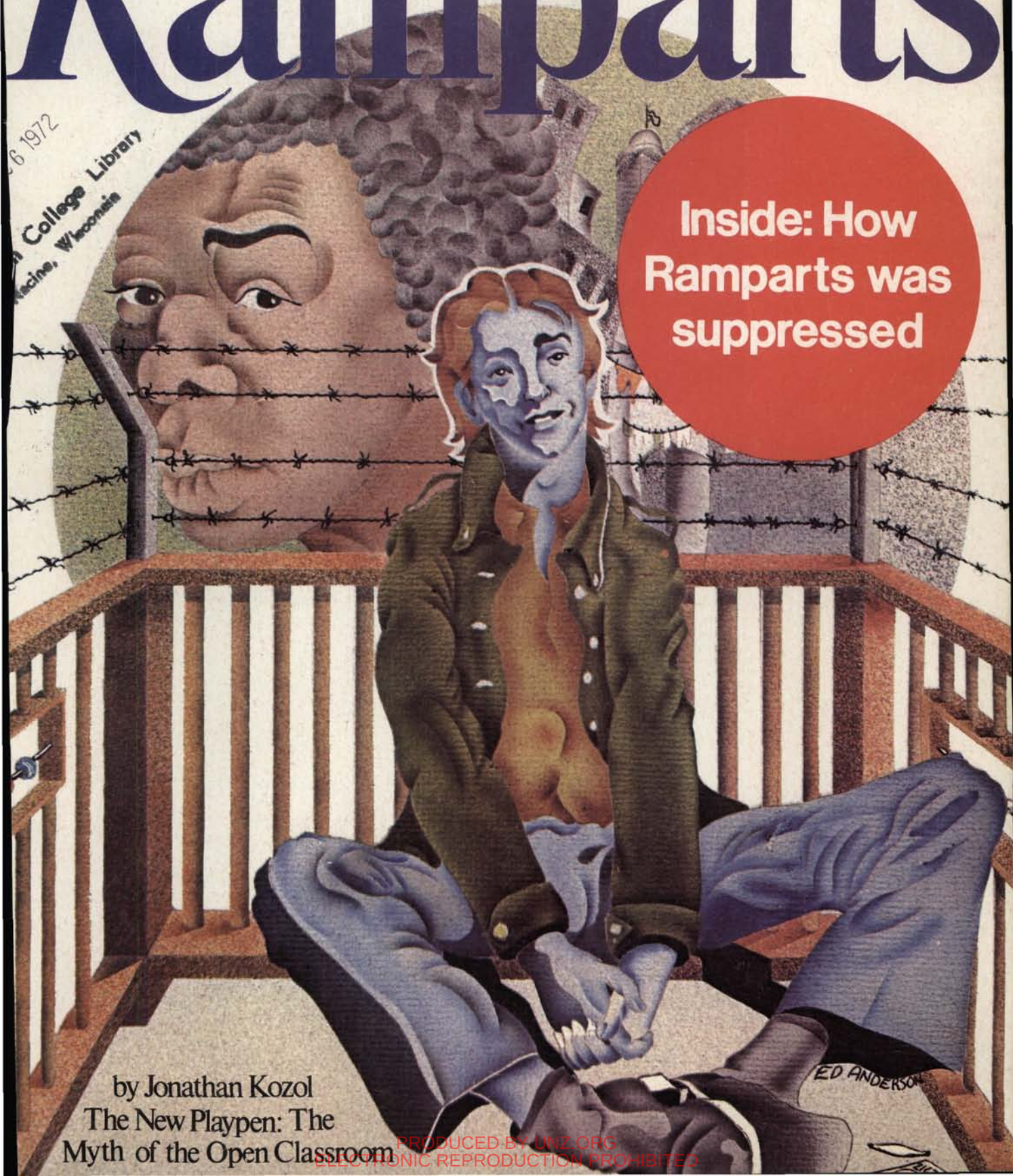

Inside: How Ramparts was suppressed

by Jonathan Kozol
The New Playpen: The Myth of the Open Classroom

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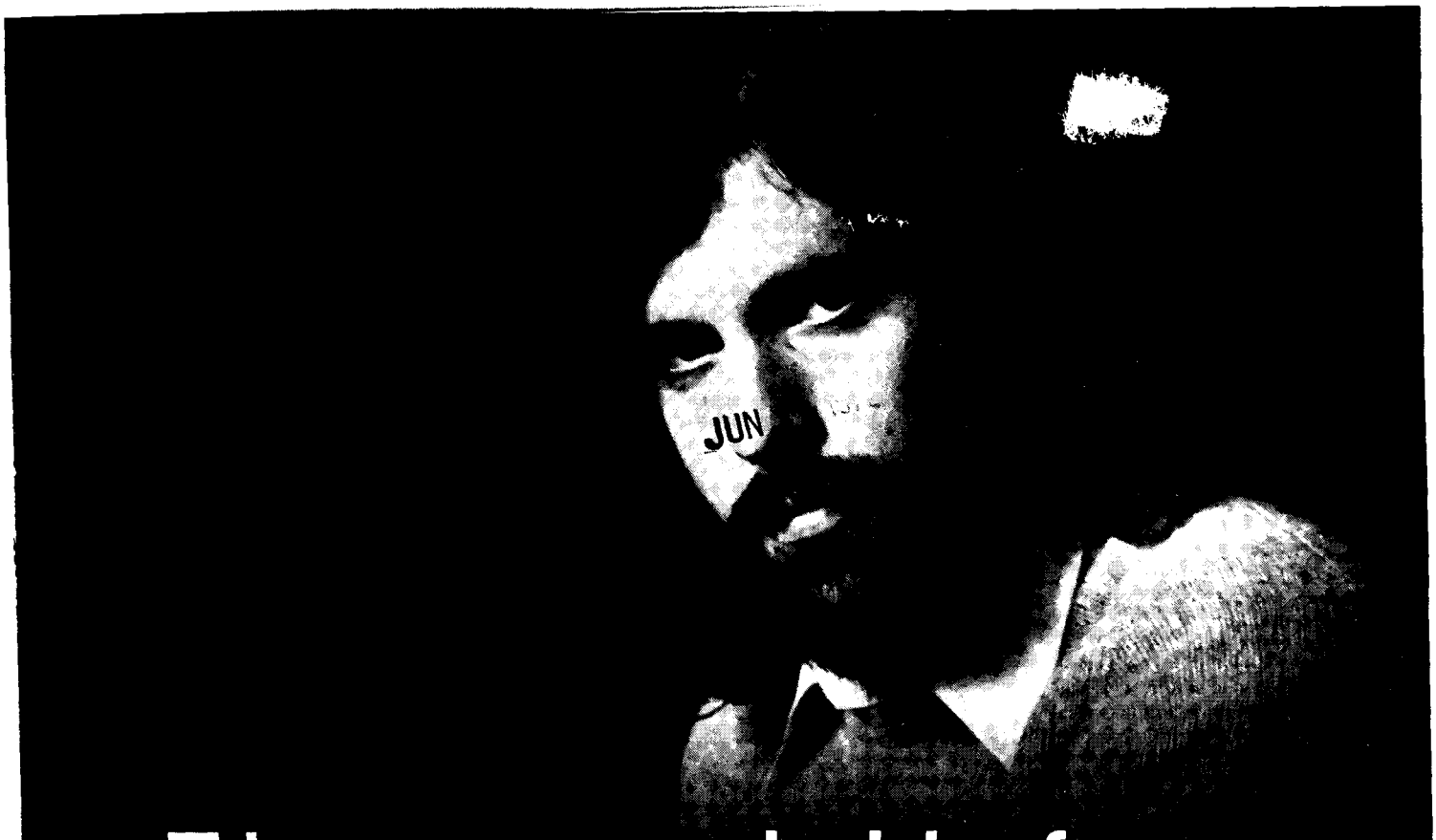

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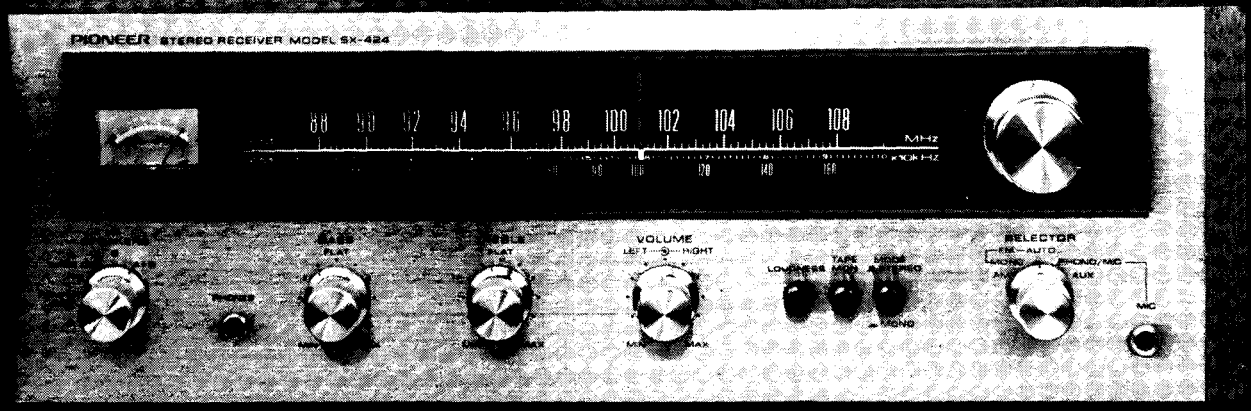

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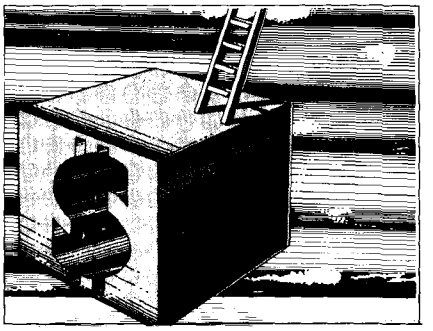

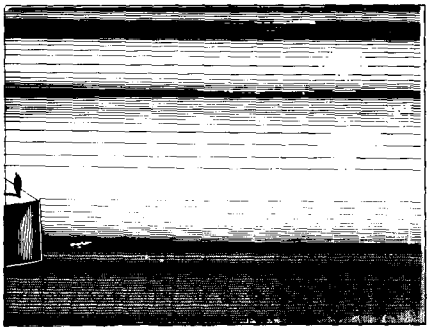

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Ramparts

Vol. 11, No. 1 July

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Printed Back Issues Available from RAMPARTS

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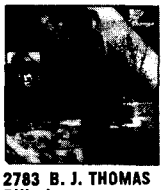

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Live At The Riviera
Parrot

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6147 SHA NA NA
Kama Sutra

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1812 Overture
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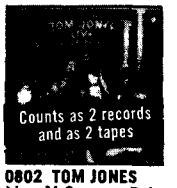

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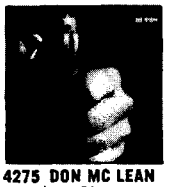

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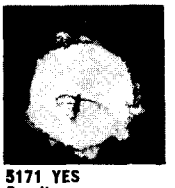
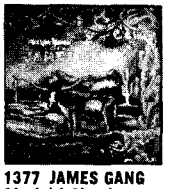
United Artists

7859 PARTRIDGE FAMILY SHOPPING BAG
Bell



5171 YES
Fragile
Atlantic



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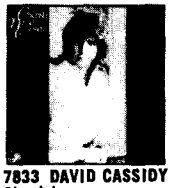

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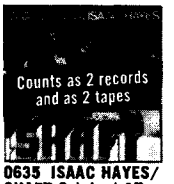

0635 ISAAC HAYES/ SHAFT Original ST
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Enterprise

5138 LED ZEPPELIN
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6431 STAPLE SINGERS
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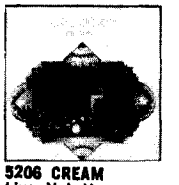
Respect Yourself
Stax



5206 CREAM
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1183 THREE DOG NIGHT
Harmony
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2779 B. J. THOMAS
Greatest Hits Vol. Two
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UNCLE BOB

Dear Mr. Cratchit:

We found your article, "How to Cheat on Your Income Taxes," in the April RAMPARTS *extremely interesting. Why don't you do some kind of regular column? You could answer readers' questions on similar topics with the same kind of practical information and advice—like an underground Sylvia Porter.*

The Editors

Uncle Bob: Sure why not.

Q. *The credit collection agency called again yesterday and said that they are going to sue me next week for the $260. What should I do now?*

A. For openers, prepare the right mental attitude. Being sued isn't like being raped, the ultimate indignity. It's more like conception: the beginning of a process. Most people fail to realize this. Naturally so. Being sued has the worst karma of any white-collar harassment. I know few people who are not shaken by a summons, who do not tremble at the prospect of a court appearance. But behind the facade of legal majesty and the deathly formality that surrounds the courtroom, this business of credit collection is really pretty shabby, simple to understand, and most important, it is fairly vulnerable to jamming, for it is a system whose smooth functioning depends on the acquiescence of its victim. The vast majority of collection suits glide through the courts uncontested, defendants never appearing, many times not even aware they are being sued, until maybe their car vanishes some night into the magical hands of the jack-be-nimble repossessor, or maybe a bank account suddenly zeros out, picked clean by an attachment order.

Collection suits are so commonplace and uniform, that most attorneys who stoop to doing this legal charwork have forms that they use, with their secretaries doing all the preparation. After all, a suit is nothing more than a simple recital of the facts of the debt —when incurred, how much, now overdue—and a petition to the judge to "find" for the plaintiff, to grant him relief, i.e., payment. The creditor's attorney plops the suit down on the desk of the court clerk, watches it get filed, and then gives a few dollars to the sheriff or to a professional summons-serving firm for their help in stalking you and serving you with a copy of the suit. Until you are served, the suit has no force of law. Usually service happens fast—you are found and served and the game begins. Sometimes process servers (who are paid on piece-work) don't even bother to really find you, but report back that they did. Such bogus service is called "sewer service," for that is where the summons is discarded. This results in your losing your case without even knowing of its existence. Should this happen, an attorney can easily get the judgment set aside. But, more likely, you are found and duly served with a summons. (Note: this is *not* a summons for you to appear in court.) Now you have a choice: either defend the suit, or let the plaintiff win it by default. If you choose to defend, you must prepare a written "answer" and deliver it to the court clerk within 30 days of the day you received the summons. No appearance yet, just more papershuffle. The advantages of answering the suit rather than punting are several: first, you buy time (and as every mother's boy knows, it's better to pay later than to pay now). Any answer, however stupid and vacuous, entitles you to a trial, which means you get to wait awhile in another line. Court calendars vary in their jammedness, but you can safely presume a wait of four months. (By the way, everything said so far is about superior or city court, *not* small claims court, of which more in a future issue.) Also, any defendant who answers a suit is presumed to at least think he has a defense, which in collection cases is an oddity. Most cases go to default judgment without much bother at all—the judge doesn't even know your name, for *his* clerk issues the defaults routinely. See what is happening here, folks? The routinized handing down of legally enforceable judgments is achieved by paper moving from attorney's secretary to court clerk and back again, untampered with by the schlock attorneys who resort to this kind of business. We are now in the outlands of the legal profession, where collection attorneys are to Louis Nizer as backstairs abortionists are to Christian Barnard.

But why bother to answer the suit in the first place? Aside from the time you purchase, the other benefit of filing an answer is that you force your adversaries, that avaricious businessman and his rummy lawyer, to spend some money. Filing is cheap, trying them is very expensive, uncertain in outcome, and usually not profitable for anyone. So you may want to file an answer just to put yourself in a better position to bargain with the SOBs. Remember now, dear friend, beating you in court is only a beginning for, *after* they get their judgment, they still have to *find* something of yours to seize. And here we have the usually overlooked or misunderstood truth about suits: all the plaintiff gets is a hunting license, *he doesn't get any money*. The judgment that he wins is worthless unless he can seize your wages or your property. At this very moment out there in this great abundant land of ours; there are millions, count them, millions of unsatisfied judgments, in the hands of the creditor-predators, laying potentia claims to perhaps billions of dollars ir assets—if only they could be found But judgments are paper tigers. Eighty five percent of the bad debts in th hands of collection agencies are owe by "skips"—good folks who have jus up and left. But of course you are no about to flee just to avoid a little suit

by Bob Cratchit

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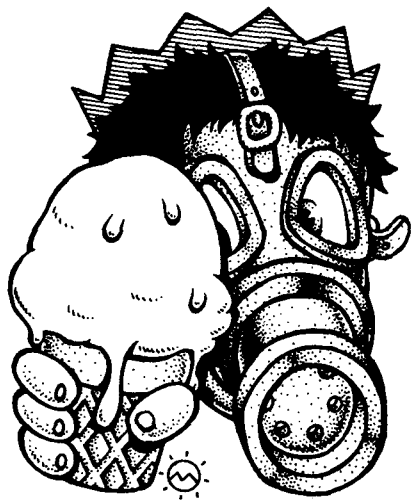
so what are you to do? Or, more interesting, what is the creditor about to do to you? If you do not answer the suit, the creditor will win his judgment and will try to find out where you work so that he can garnish your wages. that is, take the largest portion of your salary that the law of your state allows, which varies from 10 to 50 percent of your take-home-pay.

It's as simple as sending the sheriff around with a garnishment order, once the creditor finds you. (You do not have to tell him a thing, but, if he is really tenacious, he can have you ordered into court to answer his questions about how he is to collect his judgment.) There are a couple ways to beat or divert the garnishment: first you can go ask the judge who signed the garnishment order to release it, based on the fact that you need all your income to maintain you and yours in your modest lifestyle. Second you may be fortunate enough to have a sympathetic boss. If he is *really* sympathetic, he will begin to pay you on a daily basis. This has two advantages. First, each time the creditor wants to pick up his cut, he has to get a court order (thirty court orders, instead of one, dig it?). Second, when he does arrive, armed with his court order, the pie plate has only crumbs.

Generally, it must be sadly admitted, avoiding a garnishment, or defeating one, is not easy. Most of us have unsympathetic bosses (here comes the class-analysis) who are more likely to reprimand or even fire us for a garnishment order (he does the bookwork) rather than feel protective toward us. Even if you can sidestep a garnishment order (they can't garnish welfare or unemployment benefits, by the way), the creditor can also go after any property you may have; including furniture ("the sticks" as they are called contemptuously in the profession) or automobiles (much more likely) or bank accounts (damned near a certainty if he can find them). Automobiles should never be owned by a self-respecting deadbeat, which is not to say you can't have one, but be sure that you keep a large lien on it, in favor of a friend, to prevent other creditors from jumping in and seizing it.

(Continued on Page 8)



ICE CREAM

IN THE OLD DAYS WHEN ice cream was made of whole eggs, milk and sugar and then laboriously cranked in the home freezer by hand, a serving of ice cream was an occasional family treat which didn't do much harm.

Today, in this mass-producing synthetic age, it is quite another matter. Nowadays, there is a very good possibility that you're treating your family to another poison if you buy a cheaper product.

Ice cream manufacturers are not required by law to list the additives used in making of ice cream. Chemical additives are much less expensive than the real thing so that the manufacturers usually take the path of least resistance to higher profits. Consequently, the majority of cheaper prepacked ice creams are synthetic from start to finish.

Laboratory analyses have shown the following "ingredients" to be prevalent in commercial ice creams:

BENZYL ACETATE—used to give ice cream its strawberry flavor. It is used as a nitrate solvent.

AMYL ACETATE—used to give ice cream a banana flavor. It is used commercially as an oil paint solvent.

DIETHYL GLUCOL—a cheap chemical that is used as an emulsifier to substitute for eggs. It is identically the same chemical used in anti-freeze and in paint remover.

ALDEHYDE C17—used to flavor cherry ice cream. This is an inflammable liquid which is used in aniline dyes, plastics and rubber.

ETHYL ACETATE—used to give ice cream a pineapple flavor. It is used as a cleaner for leather and textiles. Its vapors are a cause of chronic lung, heart and especially liver damage to those employed in these two industries.

BUTYRALHEYDE—used to give ice cream various nut-like flavors. It is one of the common ingredients of rubber cement.

PIPEROHAL—extensively used as a substitute for vanilla. This is widely utilized by exterminators as a chemical to kill lice.

The next time you're tempted by a luscious-looking sundae think of it as a mixture of anti-freeze, oil paint, paint remover, nitrate solvent, leather cleaner and lice killer: you may not find it quite so appetizing.

YOUR BEST BET FOR A PALATABLE SAFE ICE CREAM IS TO:

1. Make it yourself with natural ingredients. (Most ice cream recipes call for an excessive amount of sugar. Cut the sugar approximately in half for a more tasty and healthful ice cream, or substitute an even smaller amount of raw, untreated honey.)
2. Buy it in your local health food store where it is usually made with safe ingredients, such as honey and unprocessed fruit, and without artificial flavors, colorings, synthetics or white sugar.
3. You might compromise by buying a more expensive, better quality brand in which chemicals and synthetics are kept at a minimum. A rule of thumb is never to buy ice cream labeled "artificially flavored" or "artificially colored" and to avoid so called ice cream "bargains."

by Jack Soltanoff

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(From Page 7)

Putting a lien on your car is as easy as going down to the department of motor vehicles office (a state agency) and filing a form which says that your friend is the legal owner of the car, i.e., that you owe him some money and have given him a security interest in your car to ensure that you repay him. Note, however: to testify that this is a legitimate lien would open you to charges of perjury.

Bank accounts can only be protected by closing them. If you just cannot live with the inconvenience of paying your bills by money order, then put your money in an out-of-state bank. That will force your seizure-prone creditor to hire an out-of-state lawyer to obtain the seizure order, another expense to him.

Let's assume the worst: you are guilty, you have a job and are vulnerable to wage garnishment. What to do? Answer the suit. Assuming that your answer is to be empty and only a strategy, you probably can do without an attorney and prepare the answer yourself. (If it's big money we are talking about, then get a lawyer, don't mess around.) Ask Legal Aid or the Court Clerk for a form answer —a "general denial" is what you want. If they won't give you one, denounce them as running dogs and lackeys, and send me an SAS (that's self-addressed-stamped envelope for you who are not junk mail freaks), and I'll send you the one that all of us here use(d). Now that you have answered their miserable little suit, offer a compromise settlement of their claim, say about 60c on the dollar, explaining that you might be able to borrow the money from Mommy or a Good Friend, that you don't want to have to pay a lawyer, and that, besides, what with their shoddy goods and their misleading advertisements, you don't think you really owe them the money anyway. If that doesn't work and they will not settle, then you are left with two alternatives—one is to run away and join the Coast Guard; the other is to plunge into the brackish, but strangely re-invigorating, backwaters of bankruptcy court.

Q. *You may not be able to answer this one Uncle Bob, but maybe some of your friends in there can. How dangerous is insurance fraud? My out-of-state friend Stanley wants to crash his old car into the back of mine, and says he will give me 60 percent of the insurance money, "right off the top," as he puts it. Should I? I need the money.*

A. First of all, I cannot even find any insurance claim swindlers in here, so it must not be too dangerous a calling. Second of all, I am not an expert on such games myself, so take my advice only for what it is worth. Contrived rear-enders do seem easy enough. The insurance companies are forever moaning about fraudulent claims, so I guess there is a lot happening out there. I don't know the odds of your succeeding, but here are a few hints to improve your chances. First, stage the accident in public, not in your driveway, and make sure you have an innocent witness or two who are strangers to you. Next, do not become greedy. If you score easily the first time, do not repeat the accident even with someone else and another insurance company. The companies have computerized claims information and share it among themselves. Third, understand here and now that you can not make a living at this, and that there is no way you can make a fortune with a single accident.

While insurance companies vary in toughness in negotiating with claimants, you can safely figure that the claims adjuster facing you across the bargaining table (or at your hospital bedside, depending on your audacity), can only give you about $500 to $800 on his own authority, above that he has to go back to the office and justify it to his stingy boss. Also, know this: claims adjusting is a production line operation, the company wants to get your claim settled just as quickly as possible, and will pay for expediting it. As my father always told me and so I tell you now—take the money and run. You will have to get a doctor to examine you, nothing dishonest you understand, just a straight doctor's report to fill the insurance company's files. You should also suggest to the adjuster that, unless you can settle this claim amicably with his company soon, you will have to go see a lawyer. That usually prompts the adjuster to make his first offer, which is never his last offer.

Q. *I'm really in trouble, Bob. Macy's is threatening to take away our new Zenith Accucolor 21-inch color home entertainment system, the one with the Mediterranean cabinet. I was laid off in February and don't know when I'll be back to work. I can't make the payments, but I can't do without that big console either. This twerpie little guy from Macy's says he is coming back next week to take the set away. What can be done?*

A. Legally there is no way for you to keep that television, assuming that you signed a security agreement when you bought it (they will show you a copy of it if you insist upon it). I suggest that when he returns next week, you beat him up.

Q. *Is it true that there is this Giant Credit Computer watching us all the time? My brother-in-law, a drunk, and generally unreliable, works as a car repossessor and he says there is. Is there?*

A. Damned near. There are over two thousand credit bureaus which gather information and share it, and there are a couple of very big sharks swimming in among this school of piranha. In California, TRW Corporation has 18 million files, and in Atlanta, RCC has 27 million. All told, over a hundred million files exist, one for just about each of us. TRW and its friends have subscribers (stores, credit card companies, others) who not only pay to peek at our files, but also add their own information to the pot, tattling on us when we don't behave responsibly with the credit they have entrusted to us. It's all kept straight on computers of course, and that allows them to update the files daily, and to have instant access to the information. But so far at least, not all little businesses have signed up as subscribers to the service so, even if your credit record it already stained, you may be able to sneak past the guard at the gate and get some new accounts opened. But all the larger credit issuers are plugged in to the system, so it is important you what that file on you says.

(Continued on Page 5

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You Did Say "The Straits of Magellan"?

In our travel choices, as in other ways, Americans bare our worst ethnocentrisms, lavishing attention on the same countries that were featured in our high school history books, and usually sticking pretty close to the capital cities. The European travel industry is highly developed—plenty of flights, posh hotels, English spoken everywhere. By contrast, the third world remains remote, politically and culturally isolated from us. China is only the largest and best example of this. What does any of us know about Malaysia, Chile, India, even Russia? What is missing from the present travel opportunities is a way for people who take their travel seriously to visit a place of interest, and to wander beyond the well-trodden track constructed for visiting tourists, to get outside the lockstepping that tourism too often requires. The few that can visit such spots pay the arm-and-a-leg that long distance touring usually costs.

Ramparts tours aim to reach all three worlds. The Old World gets its due, with trips scheduled to Scandinavia, Europe, England and Central Europe and Israel. The New World, particularly its southern hemisphere, is included as well, with trips to Peru and Chile (the one next winter reaching all the way down to the Straits of Magellan) and we are also arranging a Mexican trip this summer. The third world is harder to get to, expensive to reach, and in some cases difficult to enter just now, but is, we perceive, the World most interesting to the people that these tours are arranged for.

As to price. American Express can undersell most everyone, so have no hopes that bargains abound here. What we do is try to stay around the usual prices at which you see similar appearing tours advertised by the big guys, and to fill the itinerary with worthwhile things to do. If we have to give somewhere, we give on the hotel accommodations, avoiding the Hiltons in favor of first class but not frilly convention palaces. These tours are led by informed bi-linguals, oftentimes Peacecorps people. The good contacts that Ramparts has in these countries allows us to arrange itineraries with political and cultural interest that cannot be matched by the individual traveler, indeed, cannot be matched by American Express.

Chile

A full week of political events including visits to a copper mine, nationalized texile mill,Che Guevara squatter's village, plus meetings with politicos, labor unionists, teachers and students. The second week is for vacationing in the Andes and the lake region to the south. Fourteen days, leaving July 8, and again August 5. Price $850 from New York, $925 from Los Angeles.

Mexico

This will be largely a sightseeing tour, but will also include some interesting meetings. Five days in Guadalajara, two in Guanajuato, San Miguel de Allende, five in Mexico City and four in Oaxaca. From Los Angeles $610, from New York $689, July 12-31.

Africa

As Chile offers a new Latin American political model, so Tanzania serves for black African nations, newly free and attempting to radically reform domestic institutions and steer an independent foreign policy. Politics and cultural events will dominate this itinerary, which includes Nairobi in Kenya, for meetings with political representatives, students and workers plus tours; then onto the game preserves at Serengeti and Ngorongoro crater and the Moshe/Arusha areas, finally to dar es Salaam. 15 days in August. $1000 from New York.

Israel

A unique introduction to new political controversies: the question of withdrawal from the occupied lands, the effect of several hundred thousand Palestinian Arabs inside the Israeli economy, the growing tensions between Oriental and European Jews and the program of the Israeli left opposition. We will meet with a wide range of political viewpoints, visit artists, journalists, officials, students, stay overnight at a kibbutz, and travel to the Sinai, through the Negev, to Eilat, Sharm el Sheikh, Jerusalem, Galilee, the Golan Heights, Nazareth and the Dead Sea. September 23-October 13, $1050 from New York.

Russia and London

A week in London, two in Russia, including Moscow for visits to aerospace and industry exposition, meetings with labor unionists, students. In Leningrad we will meet with engineers and teachers plus lots of sightseeing. 21 days, $680 from New York September 3-23.

Scandinavia and East Germany

Features a close look at Scandinavian social democracy: health and housing, cooperatives, urban planning. Tour includes trip to Leipzig, Dresden and Berlin. Twenty-one days, July 1-21, $750 from New York.

Peru/Chile

This 21 day tour includes Machu Picchu, Santiago for political activities (see above), then onto Concepcion and south to the bottom of the world—the Straits of Magellen in Tierra del Fuego. December 16 - Janury 5. $1050 from New York, $1125 from Los Angeles.

Prices include airfare, all hotels, transfers, and most meals. For details write .

[RAMPARTS]

Send me information on your tour to:

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☐ Scandinavia ☐ Israel ☐ Africa ☐ Mexico

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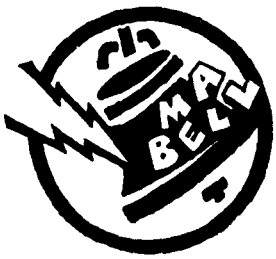

How the Phone Company Interrupted Our Service

IT WAS CLOSING TIME ON Thursday, May 12. The people who work at the Golden Gate Magazine Company in San Francisco's Tenderloin were leaving for the day, when a well-dressed man walked in and quietly presented a sheaf of xerox copies and his calling card, on the back of which was pencilled "Ramparts June Issue, phone freak box," and then got back in his car and drove off.

The next morning, Mr. Seely, Golden Gate's manager, received a call from yesterday's visitor. The caller identified himself as a Special Agent of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, the Bell system's operating company in California. The conversation was brief: had Mr. Seely received the copy of the California Penal Code sections? The caller had obligingly underlined section 502.7 and its phrases that it is illegal to sell "plans or instructions" for any "instrument, apparatus or device" intended to avoid telephone toll charges, and that the penalty for violation is up-to-a-year in jail. That was all.

If Mr. Seely was aware that the Special Agent's employers were determined people with considerable influence and limitless resources for pursuing civil and criminal actions, it was not because of anything said in this conversation. There was no menace in the voice on the telephone, no demands or threats. But the iron fist was poorly concealed by the velvet glove. Mr. Seely understood very well that he was being offered "protection."

The Special Agent was, as Don Corlene says, making him a proposition he couldn't refuse. The June issue never went on sale in San Francisco.

It also didn't go on sale in other California cities where similar visits were made. A major wholesaler in New York was contacted, although the magazine did briefly appear there and in other Eastern cities. But within a week, American Telephone and Telegraph had achieved what the CIA, Pentagon, FBI and other targets of Ramparts' journalism over the last ten years hadn't been able to bring about: the nationwide suppression of this magazine. As this is being written, trucks are stopping at wholesalers and retailers all over the country to collect the thousands of copies that AT&T claims as the spoils of a swift and silent war.

* * *

THE TACTICS OF THE BELL system were carefully chosen to place the editors of this magazine in an almost irresolvable dilemma. The harassment continued, AT&T threatening the magazine itself, noting at the time (and later on to an Associated Press reporter) that civil charges might be filed as well as a criminal complaint reaching as high as a felony conspiracy charge against the editors. It became clear that they intended to use the legions of agents and attorneys (the blue-ribbon San Francisco law firm representing all telephone systems – Pillsbury, Madison and Sutro–has 160 lawyers on its staff) to block the distribution of the magazine.

Telephone Company attorneys demanded that the copyright of the "Phone Phreak" article be assigned to the Bell System so that they could prosecute underground or other publications that might reprint it; that the film and plates from which the article had been printed be delivered up; and that Ramparts agree never to print

NOTICE TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS

We have described in detail the legal and constitutional issues involved in our printing of the article on Phone Phreaks in the June issue of RAMPARTS. Quite independent from these problems, however, is the possibility of prosecution for anyone happening to make and use one of the devices described in this article. There are substantial risks involved, and anyone deciding to be a user of this device is vulnerable to surveillance and prosecution. We know for a fact that the Telephone Company is extremely anxious over this possibility. Caveat Emptor.

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similar article in the future. Knowing that subscriber copies of the magazine had already been mailed out, they requested a copy of our confidential subscriber list so that they could place those who had received our June issue under surveillance, and that we respond with a "No Comment" when other members of the press called to ask why AT&T had confiscated our magazines.

Demands that we entrap our own readers and allow ourselves to be muzzled were so outrageous that they easily could be rejected. And as for ourselves, we were willing to have the matter go to court, where it obviously belonged. But the Bell System had hostages we had to consider. Their attorneys indicated that the whole network handling Ramparts was also vulnerable to civil and criminal charges. This meant that the over 500 wholesalers and thousands of retailers distributing the magazine could also be prosecuted. It was clear from our conversations that the largest corporation in the world lacked neither the will nor the resources to do it. To protect this distribution network, the lifeblood of this and other publications, we agreed to the recall of our issue.

We received no immunity from prosecution. All we got from our negotiations with telephone company attorneys was an insight into the unbridled power and arrogance of this mammoth corporation and also an understanding of the process by which we had been betrayed. For AT&T by its own admission got advance notice of the contents of the June issue, not by any process of legal discovery, but directly from our printer, W. A. Krueger & Co., a national company with headquarters in Milwaukee. Krueger willingly took our check for $12,000 and printed the issue, but protected itself by sending off an advance copy, not to a district attorney's office or to some other "duly constituted authority," but directly to AT&T.

* * *

AS IT HAPPENS, we consider the "Phone Phreak" story an innocuous one. We are a magazine of radical politics–or as the *New York Times* once called us, "A gadfly to the establishment." This willingness on the part of a large national printing house to reveal the contents of a magazine to outside inspection, prior to publication, in itself indicates how fragile the interests of a free press are when this freedom is subjected to the censorship of established power. A commitment to a free press that has been jeopardized as never before by the Earl Caldwell case now before the Supreme Court and by the attempt to enjoin the publication of the Pentagon Papers is a slender reed when exposed to a corporation like AT&T with a reputation for devastating vindictiveness. Even *Business Week,* hardly a radical publication, has noted gently that "Bell's self-protective reflexes have created an atmosphere of fear that may well muzzle deserved criticism."

In the past ten years, Ramparts has incurred the wrath of power in many forms. Many times there have been murmurs of investigations, but never have our magazines been restrained from publication. This is as it should be. In theory, the press–however severely it may be held accountable after the fact for what it publishes – is supposed to be protected at almost any cost from the imposition of prior restraint. This held true even in the case of the Pentagon Papers, where almost the entire apparatus of government clamored for their censorship. But the courts refused to allow prior restraint to be imposed.

We would not compare this relatively trivial matter to revelations of national significance. What is important, however, is that AT&T did not bother to go through legal channels to work its will. They did not go into court and seek an injunction against Ramparts where we could respond legally and test the doubtful legitimacy of their demands. Instead they forced their way in through the back door to suppression, unwilling to risk the First Amendment test which barred their way in front.

It is true that, even with all the formal protections of a free press, the media serve entrenched interests and established order in countless subtle ways. But while this is profoundly disturbing, it only emphasizes the need for a truly free and vital press. And it dramatically underscores the danger in the precedent AT&T has now set. This corporation, which hovers proprietarily over public utilities commissions and musters immense political clout to fight any attempt at regulation, admits to no scruples at all about moving against a magazine whose contents involve a number of important stories (including a study of the financial backing of the Democratic Party, a report on the movements within the black left, and an analysis of the irresponsibility in the management of pension funds) to get at what it considers a dangerous 4-page article. This goes to the heart of the protected freedom of the press by anyone's definition, and the effort on the part of the Bell System to systematically track down the copies of this issue and oversee their destruction shows a frightening contempt for even the most minimal forms of due process and even the sham decencies of genteel repression.

* * *

IN A WAY IT SHOULD COME as no surprise that AT&T does not look on constitutional protections as serious constraints. For the company's entire corporate experience is that the structure of law and government serve as instruments of its power, to be recklessly manipulated for advantage. AT&T is, after all, first among giants, the largest American corporation of any kind, with an incredible $45 billion in assets and a net income larger than the total for the nation's 50 largest commercial banks or the 50 largest retail firms combined. Its closest point of contact with the rule of law is in the context of utility regulation, where only the facade of serious independent authority is still maintained.

California telephone regulation was once considered a model for the nation. But at this point it would be a costly model for the other states to follow. Last July 22 the Public Utilities Commission approved a $143 million rate increase–twice the previous record, and in a year when everybody else was being told to hold the wage and price line. Part of the increase was challenged in court; the state Supreme

(Continued on Page 16)

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[Dialogue]

Three Questions on China

by George Wald

A VITAL QUESTION CONCERNING China is now plaguing the left all over the world, and puzzling many other persons. It is a serious question for the Nixon administration too, for on it depends what kinds of bargains it may hope to drive following Mr. Nixon's visit. It is whether China will now forego its revolutionary position in the Third World, and will behave as just another Great Power, pursuing henceforward a policy of narrow, national self-interest.

Three recent developments have provoked such a suspicion: China's position on Pakistan, the Nixon visit, and China's restrained reaction to the renewed bombing of North Vietnam.

I have recently had a number of intensive conversations about these matters with persons in responsible government positions, including Kuo Mo-jo and Chou En-lai, Prince Sihanouk, and North Vietnamese officials all the way up to Premier Pham Van Dong. They present a reasonably unified view that I think puts the position fairly and can help to resolve current doubts of China's intentions.

First, the Pakistan issue. The nub of the problem is China's support of the Yahya Khan military dictatorship as it brutally suppressed what looked like a people's liberation movement. That the Nixon administration took much the same position only adds to the problem. The Chinese make three points:

(1) The Chinese government did deplore the brutality and thought—as all now concede – that Yahya Khan was making grave mistakes. They made "suggestions" to this effect; but on principle (Principle 3 of the 5 Principles of Peaceful Coexistence) would not interfere in the internal affairs of another country.

(2) The Chinese entertain grave doubts concerning the true nature of the secession movement in East Pakistan. That the Premier of Bangladesh, Mujibur Rahman, on release from imprisonment in West Pakistan flew first to London then to New Delhi before returning home, they took to be a significant straw in the wind. Is it an East wind or a West wind? Mujibur's immediate order that the Bangladesh liberation forces give up their arms while some 30,000 Indian troops remained in his country seemed to the Chinese to mean that he had more confidence in the Indian Army than in his own liberation forces.

(3) Secession, particularly just now, is a tender issue with the Chinese. They have had a long experience of dismemberment fostered by foreign intrigue and intervention. Point 1 of the 5 Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is "Mutual respect for territorial integrity and national sovereignty." Furthermore they are convinced that the U.S. and Japanese governments and private interests are now actively promoting a Taiwan independence movement, in the hope of keeping a regime in Taiwan that will continue to provide military bases and foster foreign investment and business enterprises. China is in no mood to condone a secession, whatever the circumstances, that might seem to offer a precedent for splitting away Taiwan.

As for the Nixon visit, the Chinese position was that he asked for it, and this seemed to them a fortunate time to talk. The U.S. cause had suffered reverses in Indochina, Vietnamization clearly was not working, and Mr. Nixon's domestic difficulties were increasing. In a widely distributed statement on May 20, 1970, Chairman Mao wrote: "The Nixon government is beset with troubles internally and externally, with utter chaos at home and extereme isolation abroad." There are times to negotiate and times not to negotiate. This seemed to the Chinese one of the former. If Mr. Nixon proved ready to accept the 5 Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, that would be fine. (The remaining three Principles are: (2) Non-aggression. (4) Equality and mutual benefit. (5) Peaceful coexistence.) There is no evidence that as the result of the talks the Chinese have yielded on any basic issue. On the return of Taiwan they are adamant, with an intensity of passion that Americans must begin to understand.

Finally, a word concerning present Chinese attitudes toward the war in Indochina. It is important to realize that, in spite of the widespread American belief in Chinese expansionism and Chinese ambitions to exercise a hegemony in Asia and perhaps elsewhere, in fact the Chinese seem to treat very tenderly the rights and independence of small nations. This behavior plays an important role in their dealings with the underdeveloped nations of the Third World. As well as I can gather, both from Chinese and North Vietnamese sources, North Vietnam makes its own policies and carries on its own war, grateful for China's help but not made subvervient by it. Thus, when China last year offered to send in volunteers, North Vietnam declined. Much the same hands-off policy holds with the Cambodian government-in-exile under Prince Norodom Sihanouk, in Peking with half the members of his government. That is both the Chinese view and Prince Sihanouk's, as he readily told me.

I suspect that, in renewing the large-scale bombing of North Vietnam last December 26, Mr. Nixon was performing a dual experiment: on the American people and on the Chinese government, to test the reactions of both. If that view is correct, the experiment was a success on both counts. The American people hardly reacted; the Chinese protested, yet restrainedly That may have been in Mr. Nixon's calculations also. The whole world was watching, and drew—to a degree was encouraged to draw—the conclusion that China was softening in its support of North Vietnam.

From all I can gather there has been no such change, nor is any anticipated. Any doubt of a trade-off - for example Taiwan in exchange for free hand in Indochina—was treated in Peking as utterly absurd. The Chinese government has given assurance that it continues to support North Vietnam as before; and recent moves lend substance to this position. On January 21 the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a formal state

(Continued on Page 12

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The China Question and the American Left

IN THE MAY ISSUE OF RAMPARTS we ran two articles analyzing the recent turn in China's foreign policy, and the uncertain and conflicting attitudes of the American left towards the changes. Among the many responses and additions to the debate which we received from our readers was the preceding communication by George Wald, the author of one of the most courageous statements against the war and the war machine to come from the academic establishment. We have chosen to reproduce Professor Wald's communication because it summarizes a prevalent attitude to the issues at hand, and gives us the opportunity to take the discussion a step further. In continuing the dialogue, we are convinced that the complexities of the current world situation make it absolutely critical for the American left to establish a more sophisticated view of such developments and events than it has been able to in the past. Only then will the left be prepared to fulfill those responsibilities laid upon it, as a center of resistance inside the heartland of America's increasingly destructive, global empire.

Historically, the left has never really been able to resolve the dilemma posed by the tensions between its international responsibility and its national identity. Its concern for the rights and well-being of revolutions in underdeveloped countries, which are always carried out against great odds and usually against the armed intervention of the United States, has led it to glamorize the post-revolutionary status quo in those countries, and simplify its own attitude of solidarity and support. As a result, it has confused the sense of solidarity with the posture of adulation, the defense of the rights of these revolutions to self-determination and survival, with blanket apologies for the policies and rationales of particular revolutionary governments. In this way it has served neither the international revolutionary movement nor itself very well.

In particular, in the process of adjusting its own analysis to every change in someone else's revolutionary line, it has periodically lost its own credibility, often with devastating effect. It has thus failed over the years, to develop a coherent analysis of revolutionary states that would begin to match its analysis of American society and empire.

Professor Wald's communication is formulated as an answer to three questions about China suggested by the kind of oversimplified approach generally found on the left, and therefore offers an excellent opportunity to examine its weaknesses. The main issue which emerges from these questions is "whether China will now forego its revolutionary position in the Third World, and will behave as just another Great Power, pursuing henceforward a policy of narrow, national self-interest." It should be obvious, however, that no fruitful answer can emerge from such a question, for the alternatives posed are unrealistic, and not connected to any recognizable historical reality. China can no more shed its great power status and interests, on the one hand, than it can escape the consequences of having carried out an epoch-making revolution on the borders of America's embattled Pacific empire on the other. In short, China is *both* a great power, with a stake in the status quo of nation-states, *and* a revolutionary power, whose long-term interests are bound up in the fate of socialist and anti-imperialist revolutions in the Third World. To ignore either aspect of China's contradictory reality simply makes it impossible to arrive at any viable understanding of the present complexities of China's approaches to international affairs.

China's role in the Pakistan crisis provides a good case in point. Professor Wald, on the basis of an interview with China's Premier Chou En-Lai, is satisfied that the Chinese see their policy towards Pakistan within the framework of their revolutionary principles. From this he concludes that China is not acting from Great Power considerations and national self-interest. Given his starting premise, it follows that China's policy reflects a determination to retain its revolutionary position in the Third World.

But does Chou En-Lai's rationale really tell us anything so determinate? Does it tell us anything more in fact, than that Chou is able to reconcile his policy with his own ideological precepts? Would Russia's leaders be any less able to wrap *their* Pakistan policies in revolutionary terminology? Does Professor Wald think, on the other hand, that the Chinese leadership, under any circumstances and within any conceivable definition of their responsibilites, could be indifferent to China's *national* interests in the Pakistan crisis? Could they fail to consider, for example, the possibility that independence for Bangladesh would lead to a situation in which a hostile power—Russia, India, the U.S. —would be able to set up military or intelligence facilities along China's southern flank? But, if the fate of Bangladesh is important to China from a national security point of view, how is one to distinguish between China's concern for the people's revolution in East and West Pakistan, and China's concern for its own revolutionary skin?

As a counter to Peking's interpretation of the events as reported by Wald, it should be noted that the Maoist left in East Pakistan fought and died for the national liberation struggle there, and no one has claimed that the independence struggle was supported by anything less than an overwhelming majority of its people. Moreover, the right of secession is itself a hallowed Leninist principle, despite China's current national sensitivities on the subject. On the other hand, Peking's intimations that great power politics are involved in the struggle, and that Bangladesh has attained something less than self-sufficiency and real independence is hardly controversial. But drawing attention to this fact does not make China a spokesman of the true revolutionary interest in Bangladesh. Indeed, the Chinese not only slander the East Pakistanis but do themselves a great disservice in attempting to discredit a national struggle which was forced on a people through one of the worst and most clearly genocidal massacres on record. Is Chou's primary concern really that of the East Pakistani masses when he hints that Bangladesh is an Indian fabrication? Or is his intended

by David Horowitz

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audience rather the military dictatorship in Karachi?

In point of historical fact, it was not Russo-Indian support for East Pakistan in 1971 that caused China to line up with West Pakistan, as Professor Wald's Peking informants imply. It was Russian support for India in her territorial conflicts with China and Pakistan ten years previously, that caused both Pakistan and China to turn towards each other; and it was the ensuing alliance, dating from the early sixties that caused Peking to back Karachi in its campaign of repression against Bangladesh. Bangladesh's struggle for self-determination, while legitimate in itself, thus became a pawn in the previous power struggle for national influence in the Indian sub-continent. A real social revolution led by an East Pakistani NLF would have been against the interests of all these powers in 1971: of the Chinese, because it would have been secessionist, opening the way for Indian and Russian penetration in an area of vital defense interest to China; of the Indians, because it would have stimulated parallel revolutionary movements in West Bengal; and of the Russians because the destabilization of the situation in India would have provided an opening for U.S. intervention. Such are the complexities of power politics in a revolutionary age. If one considers the analysis implausible, one need only look toward Ceylon, where Russia, India, the U.S. *and* China have all joined in the last year in supporting that government's bloody suppression of a Guevarist guerrilla front of sizeable proportions.

It is not always the case, however, that the national interests of a great power, which is also a "revolutionary" power, always coincide with the social status quo, in short, that all such states are permanently and in every instance "revisionists." The Soviet Union, to take the very symbol of communist conservatism, has committed enormous resources to "revolutionary" positions, both in Cuba and Vietnam. In both cases, Soviet short-term national interests, and the survival of the Cuban and Vietnamese Revolutions tended to coincide. However, in each of these cases, as is well known, the Soviet objective was also to stabilize the status quo, to moderate, for example, the revolutionary rhetoric and policies of the Castro regime, and especially its support of armed revolutionary struggle in the Western Hemisphere.

With these observations in mind, we can see how Professor Wald's interviews fail to come to grips with the real issues involved in China's recent moves.

These issues, in a nutshell, are the extent to which China's pursuit of its own national interests, including its desire to limit both the Russian and U.S. presence in Indo-China and its willingness to seek diplomatic gains *vis-à-vis* these powers, will be sought even at the expense of the Vietnamese struggle. The question Professor Wald addresses in his communication, on the other hand, is whether the Chinese are ready to *abandon* the Vietnamese, which is a position that would not make sense even from a narrowly national standpoint.

"While the Vietnamese are not in a position to publically criticize their major allies . . . the American left is under no such restraint . . . and can exert pressure on the Soviet Union and China, to forego arrangements like the Peking visit that would sacrifice any part of their struggle. . . ."

IN EXPLAINING PEKING'S invitation to Nixon, Professor Wald informs us that "there are times to negotiate and times not to negotiate," and this seemed to the Chinese one of the former. "If Mr. Nixon proved ready to accept the 5 Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, that would be fine." In any case, the Chinese didn't yield "on any basic issue." From China's point of view, maybe. But what about Vietnam's? To the Vietnamese, Peking's rationale, as paraphrased by Professor Wald, must appear ludicrous to say the least. Nixon was certainly not going to Peking to announce his sudden conversion to the five principles of peaceful coexistence with respect to Vietnam. If that were his mission, he should have gone to Paris where the appropriate talks were already in session. This was, in fact, the gist of the NLF's public denunciation of the Nixon announcement at the time which, out of deference to their Chinese allies, they identified only as a "Nixon" trick to draw attention away from his escalation of the war and to present himself in an election year as an apostle of "world peace," which neatly excluded Vietnam.

But while the Vietnamese are in a position where they cannot publicly criticize one of their major allies for a move which seriously weakens their struggle, the American left is under no such restraint. Indeed, one of the most important services the world left can offer the Vietnamese is to exert pressure on the Soviet Union and China, to increase their aid to the Vietnamese struggle, and to forego arrangements like the Peking visit that would sacrifice any part of that struggle in exchange for any *quid pro quo* they may be offered by the United States. It was largely Russian and Chinese pressure that caused the Vietminh to accept a bad deal at Geneva in 1954, yielding up half of the country they had already liberated, and making possible the subsequent United States buildup in South Vietnam. Attempts to induce or compel are the main trumps which Washington is constantly seeking ways to bring into play, just as the bombing of the North has always been primarily an attempt to force Hanoi into a similar role *vis-à-vis* the NLF. And a large part of the new overtures to Peking, we can be sure, are to give China a stake in the status quo, which the United States can then turn around and use as an inducement to get Peking to exert a moderating influence on movements which tend to upset it. That China, like the Soviet Union, is ready to accept such inducements is already demonstrated in dramatic fashion by Peking's invitation to Nixon at a time when the *Vietnamese* made very clear that in *their* view it was *no* an advantageous time for the Chinese to negotiate.

Professor Wald's hypotheses about the absence of secret deals, and his citation of Peking's anti-U.S. and anti

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On February 4, 1961, at midnight at Carnegie Hall, with a blizzard howling outside, Lenny Bruce turned in perhaps his greatest performance ever. What follows is Albert Goldman's account of the action:
Charging out onstage, he almost flipped. Hey there! WOW! What a scene! Hundreds, thousands of people stacked up in those old-fashioned horseshoe balconies. Why, it was the George Gershwin story! The Yascha Heifetz story! Throwing up his beautiful hands before his face, popping his fingers in ecstacy, Lenny seized the mike and started off with a burst of energy that did not exhaust itself until well past 2 A.M., by which time he had run through a dozen of his latest routines, improvised material he didn't know he had in his head, while lecturing the audience intermitently on moral philosophy, patriotism, the flag, homosexuality, jewishness, humor, communism, Kennedy, Eisenhower, drugs, venereal disease, the Internal Revenue Service, Shelly Berman and a recent operation which Lenny had undergone to remove a bone splinter from his hip. It was an astonishing performance, equal to the occasion that produced it; and it was all copied down on a tape, which is finally being unwound for the public in this album.

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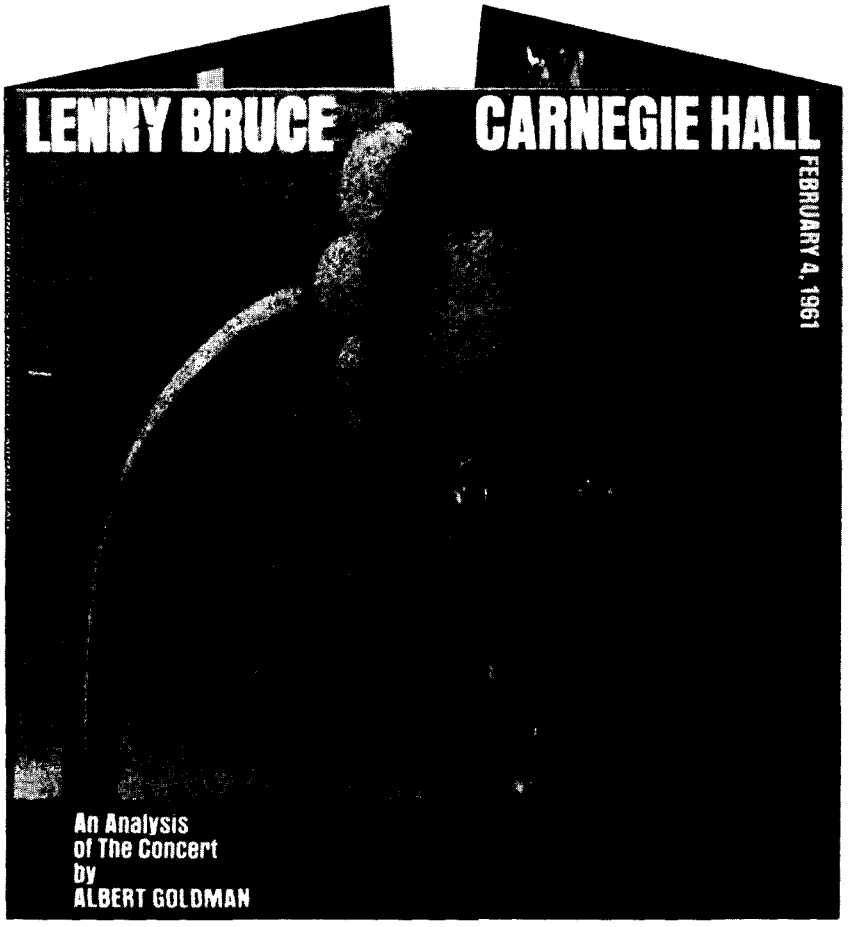

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SUPPRESSION *(From Page 11)*

Court took the case and unanimously nullified the contested increase, overruling the PUC and calling its decision "irregular" and the company's request "ill-advised." Bell companies don't like to hear that kind of talk, but Pacific Telephone was prepared to let it pass, by ignoring the court's ruling altogether. They not only defied the order for a refund—they are presently collecting revenues at the legally nullified rates, the cumulative total of which now exceeds $40 million.

The extent of AT&T's influence in government comes out perhaps most clearly in the controversy over the ship with Western Electric Corporation, its wholly owned manufacturing tion, its wholly owned manufacturing subsidiary. AT&T over the years has developed numerous techniques to maintain government "regulated" overcharges to its customers. An overcharge that now runs as high as $1 billion a year is made possible, in the words of the pre-Reagan California PUC, by the way the Bell System, through Western Electric, "makes a profit by taking in its own washing."

The telephone business is considered a "natural monopoly." But those who dreamed up this phrase obviously did not include a monopoly on the manufacture of telephone equipment and supplies. Nevertheless, the Bell System insists on buying its phones, cables, switching equipment, etc., from Western (in its own right the nation's twelfth largest industrial corporation). There are, of course, certain "funny money" opportunities that arise when you are buying from yourself, and Bell takes full advantage of them. Since the plant and equipment are purchased largely from Western Electric, their "value" (and therefore the amount of Bell's profits and customer's rates) depends on prices paid to Western by Bell System companies. It is clear that it is in Bell's interest to see Western's prices inflated as high as possible. It is the shell and pea game. Back in the late 1930s a study by the Federal Communications Commission estimated that Western Electric could cut prices on sales to the Bell System by as much as 37 percent and still earn 6 percent per year on investments. But nothing came of it—then or ever.

The matter of Western Electric, which has percolated for decades, arose again last year, when the FCC admitted in a moment of candor that it simply lacked the resources and expertise to penetrate the corporate and legal maze surrounding the subsidiary's admittedly profound effect on telephone rates.

* * *

THE SAME KIND OF presumption of invincible privilege so obviously present in AT&T's status as an outlaw corporation beyond the reach of normal regulation allowed it to suppress the June issue of Ramparts with utter impunity. It is also this mentality which led to the passage of the convenient law under which the campaign of intimidation was carried out. Whether it was used to achieve prior restraint, or—as may yet occur—to gain exemplary punishment for Ramparts' editors, a statute which defines the publication of a document such as our "Phone Phreak" article as illegal in itself constitutes a dangerous precedent.

Historically the press has been free to print whatever it chooses unless the material falls into one of a carefully limited number of categories like libel or obscenity. Except for these instances, the press is constitutionally protected. What AT&T is now trying to do is add a new item to that select list—and this is why it has successfully managed, over the past ten years, to convince fully a half of the state legislatures to make laws such as Section 502.7 of the California Penal Code. Nor does it have much difficulty in gaining these ends. We contacted the office of State Senator Alfred Song, sponsor of the 1971 amendment to the legislation which the telephone company Special Agents slipped under the doors of our wholesalers. His legislative aide, who admitted to drafting the provision, said quite candidly that he had done so as a favor to three telephone company lobbyists who had visited him to complain about renegade individualists who were regulating the phone company on their own

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The AT&T law is particularly dangerous because it deals with admittedly truthful material—it is the accuracy, not libelous or untrue data, that bothers them. Moreover, it suppresses information not obtained illicitly *from* them, but information *about* them obtained independently through legal means by the "phone phreaks" in their study of the company. This puts AT&T in a more protected position even than the CIA, with its authority for "classification." Official classification restricts only confidential information obtained directly or indirectly from within the government agency. But if someone outside, independently and on the basis of public data, figures out something the government is holding secret, it can be published without question. Even if someone figured out how to break an official code, he could publish how to do it; it would be up to the government to invent a better one. But the phone company wants to restrict accurate information, not on the grounds it was illegally obtained, but because the facts are claimed to be somehow illegal in themselves.

The Penal Code section refers specifically to "plans or instructions," but of course plans or instructions simply amount to whatever information is required for someone to build a device. And it is worth noting that the information required depends on the general background the person already has. Thus, for anyone able to follow a simple schematic drawing, the material in Ramparts could have been reduced to a single diagram and a few lines of type. But more than that, the phrase "plans or instructions" gives a false impression in this case of letting the otherwise inaccessible result of creative genius out of the bag. What that document made obvious was how simple the device involved is, amounting to two straightforward alterations of the signals on two simple circuits. The fact is that AT&T has adopted a charging system so simple that, for anyone with a rudimentary knowledge of electric circuits, and a reasonably detailed explanation of how the system works, it is glaringly obvious what alterations would be required to circumvent it.

We should also bear in mind that it is in general perfectly legal to publish information which explains how illegal activities are carried out: how a sawed-off shotgun is made, how heroin is prepared and shot, how burglars open spring locks with a celluloid strip. There is even a recently published book showing how muggers operate.

The phone company would like us to look at the matter in this light: Here is information that is inconvenient or even harmful to one of America's great corporations and, look at it, what legitimate point could possibly be made by publishing this stuff? Why should it be constitutionally protected? That is the real danger, that factual information is put on the defensive by asking why it *should* be protected. The key to freedom of the press is that we start with the presumption that *everything* is protected; the question that must be answered in any given case is why should it *not* be. And unless an answer is provided that fits into the severely restricted, established categories which have been deemed absolutely compelling, the presumption of protection stands.

If we were so omniscient that we could look at any piece of information presented to us and foresee every contribution it would ever make to public dialogue, we could dispense with that dialogue altogether. Lacking such foresight, we do not prejudge the issue—instead we protect the press knowing that the uses of truth are manifold. Even if it was ever plausible to think that the material at hand in Ramparts could make no significant contribution to public dialogue, the response of AT&T most certainly proved the opposite.

* * *

IN SOME WAY OR ANOTHER, we should perhaps be pleased to see Ramparts' impact so visibly confirmed. But we are unable to feel any exhilaration in this fight. We are committed to too many other battles, on fronts we consider far more important than this one. Also, the injury we have suffered has been extremely grave. The loss of revenue from our June issue has serious consequences for our survival which, as those of you who have received our regular appeals for early renewal of your subscriptions in the past must realize, is a fragile matter.

In addition, there will be lengthy legal costs arising from this matter. For now that we have protected people who sell our magazine by recalling our June issue, we intend to fight against the process that made this necessary. We are suing W. A. Krueger, the printing company that surreptitiously gave over proprietary information to AT&T, and we are suing the Bell System itself for damages. We are further establishing a war chest to regulate AT&T journalistically by revealing the ways in which it cheats and defrauds the captive customers who are forced to rely on its systems. We will begin next month.

—THE EDITORS

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, 2054 University Avenue, Berkeley, California 94704.

I am against the telephone monopoly's suppression of RAMPARTS' June issue. I am enclosing my contribution of $..... for your AT&T War Chest.

Use the postage-free envelope included in this issue.

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imperialist rhetoric, and protestations of internationalist solidarity are thus beside the point. They are adressed to a kind of betrayal that is unlikely, but also unnecessary in order to seriously affect the ability of the Vietnamese, or other revolutionary movements to carry out a successful struggle. Ironically, the model for the kind of extreme accusations against which Professor Wald is defending Peking were precisely the accusations which Peking hurled at the Soviet Union, for precisely the kind of coexistence-preaching and negotiating that the Russians conducted when the Chinese were still in the diplomatic cold. Russia was "revisionist" in Peking's terminology for operating under great power imperatives, and abandoning revolutionary principles. But examination of the term "revisionist" as used by Peking (and a significant section of the American left) shows that it has no real theoretical content, is an obstacle rather than a help to serious analysis.

The term "revisionism" was originally used by the Chinese to distinguish the coexistence policies of the Khrushchev era from the allegedly revolutionary policies of the Stalin era that preceded it, and many leftists have accordingly now concluded that the Chinese are themselves following a "revisionist" path. In point of fact, however, in the foreign policy realm, there is virtually nothing to distinguish the two periods in Soviet history. Stalin's concept of Socialism in One Country led to an orgy of Great Power Chauvinism on the part of the Soviet Union, while a policy of coexistence with the capitalist world was always a basic tenet of Stalin's approach to foreign affairs. Similarly it was the Chinese who most vigorously promoted the idea of coexistence, and coined the "five principles" which Professor Wald invokes, *before* the de-Stalinization Congress took place and "revisionism" became orthodox in 1956.

The conclusion to which all of this tends is that the policy patterns of revolutionary states are not determined merely by the revolutionary virtues of their leaders but by the structures of their political contexts, which are national as well as revolutionary. This is not to say that their policies are determined in any fatalistic way, but that the beginning of a new resolution of the traditional dilemmas between national and international responsibilities lies in a candid recognition of their existence. The extent that China does seem to be following the Soviet path, despite profound and often inspiring internal differences between the two countries, can be attributed to the lack of real political debate in China over foreign policy questions. The absence of any public discussion of the momentous shift in Chinese policy represented by the invitation to Nixon, the demotion of Lin Piao without any public political discussion, are themselves an enormous barrier to the development of an approach to international affairs which would alter the patterns previously established. Here the international left, which does not labor under the restraint of the opposition factions in the Chinese and Russian Communist Parties, has an important role to play in developing a realistic analysis of forces and policies, and in stressing the internationalist responsibilities of the two major communist powers. But it can only play this role if it breaks free from the simplistic categories of the past, and the simplistic patterns of its own previous solidarity and response to revolutions in other countries.

David Horowitz is an editor of RAMPARTS. *His most recent book is* Empire and Revolution (*Random House*).

THREE QUESTIONS *(from Page 12)*

ment vigorously condemning as a "grave crime of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys" the forcible displacement "of nearly one million inhabitants of the northern provinces of South Vietnam to disguised concentration camps in the south in a wild attempt to turn a large area south of the Demilitarized Zone into a no-man's land" (*Hsinhua,* Peking, January 21, 1972). The next day the Chinese government signed a new agreement with North Vietnam announcing "supplementary gratuitous supplies of military equipment and economic materials" in 1972 (*Hsinhua,* January 22, 1972). Since the Nixon visit, there have been new assurances of this kind including a reported visit of Chou En-lai to Premier Pham Van Dong in Hanoi. On April 27, Le Duc Tho, in Peking on his way back to the Paris peace talks, was told by Chou En-lai that China would support the "free Indochinese people . . . to the end until complete victory" (*N.Y. Times,* April 28, 1972).

I am convinced that China has no intention of abandoning North Vietnam or halting the flow of supplies that results in indirect aid to the liberation forces of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Nor do I see any indication that China is about to forsake the Third World and begin to act as "just another Great Power." Every Chinese knows Mao's repeated warnings against "great-power chauvinism": "In our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely" (*Quotations,* page 180). Make what one will of Chou's alleged "pragmatism," I think that this is the line he follows. Chou said during our interview, as he has before, "China will never become a super-power."

We must be warned however against what may be a Nixon tactic to compromise China by the renewed and now greatly escalated bombing of North Vietnam. That will be taken by many to imply a secret understanding with Chou; and for Nixon such a suspicion might be almost as advantageous as the reality. I see no reason whatever to believe that the Nixon-Chou talks involved a secret deal of any kind. I would agree with Edwin Reischauer that the Nixon-Chou communique, empty in substance as it was, contained not more, but if anything less than meets the eye.

It has been suggested that "the isolation and self-sufficiency of the Chinese are so strong that the impotent fury of the left in the Third World and in the West will not upset them in the slightest" (Martin Bernal, *New York Review of Books,* August 12 1971). My guess is that the Chinese feel even stronger than that—so strong that they will hold to their present course and refuse to barter away any basic principle in their relationship with the Third World.

George Wald, Professor of Biology at Harvard University, was co-recipient of the Nobel prize for medicine in 1967.

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The Story of My Overthrow and Resistance

[MOSCOW - PEKING]

YOU MUST NOT GO, SAMDECH SIHANOUK. It's Friday, the thirteenth." These words were spoken to me, half in jest, by one of my aides on the way to Orly Airport for the plane which was to take me from Paris to Moscow. It was the morning of March 13, 1970. Unlike many of my countrymen, I am not superstitious, so I laughed, and flew off to meet the Russian leaders. Five days later, while still in Moscow, I was deposed as Cambodia's Head of State so it was an unlucky day after all.

President Podgorny met my flight, but there were no elaborate welcoming ceremonies, because mine was a political and not a state visit. After greeting me he said there was a plane waiting to take me straight home to Phnom Penh.

"Take an overnight rest in Moscow, if you like," he said, "but fly on to Phnom Penh in the morning. We have confidence in you, Sihanouk. You are really the indispensable leader of your people. But you must go back and take charge of Cambodia's affairs. See that they don't fall into the hands of Lon Nol and Sirik Matak. You must ensure that Cambodia doesn't drift into an American takeover, prevent Lon Nol and Sirik Matak from creating difficulties for the South Vietnamese people who are waging a heroic struggle for the liberation of their country." I replied that I'd have to think things over very carefully.

There was much to think about. On March 8, there had been anti-Vietnamese demonstrations in Svay Rieng Province—the reports reaching me showed that Lon Nol was behind them. On March 11, a mob—ostensibly of students and school children—attacked the embassy of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam (the NLF) and, a few hours later, that of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Hanoi). My reports showed it to be the work of the Army—specifically Lon Nol. The nucleus of the attackers was, in both cases, some fifty military men in civilian clothes, commanded by Lon Nol's younger brother, Colonel Lon Non. This was a far cry from the "spontaneous demonstrations" naively reported in the European press and on American television. Signs had been prepared in English, a language rarely used in public display in my country. Photographers and TV crews had been alerted. Everything pointed to a scenario drawn up well in advance.

As soon as I heard of the attacks on the embassies, I sent a cablegram to my mother, the Queen, condemning the violence as "acts of personalities attaching greater importance to their personal and clan interests than to the country's future and to the fate of the people." I warned of the possibility of a rightist coup and said that I would return for a confrontation with those responsible, but added that, if the people chose to follow them "along a path that will turn Cambodia into a second Laos, they will compel me to resign."

The answer to my message to the Queen came in the form of further demonstrations, and outrageous attacks

Photograph by Wide World Photos

by Prince Norodom Sihanouk

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against the Vietnamese churches. This was something quite foreign to our Buddhist culture, and to our traditions of tolerance. Further reports reaching me from my own sources repeated that the ringleaders were military personnel in civilian clothes. I was loath to believe that Lon Nol had turned against me, for we had been together most of our lives, and I had always considered him my "right arm."

The official pretext for the demonstrations and the sacking of embassies was the presence of Vietcong and Vietminh troops in the border areas. No one knew better than Lon Nol that, even if NLF units came from time to time to the border areas, they did us no harm. If they had sanctuaries, these were in the sparsely populated forests in the Northeast. There were none in the "Parrot's Beak" —the flat ricelands which provided no cover. In any case, the NLF looked toward Saigon, not Phnom Penh. They were fighting to liberate their own country, not to conquer ours. For years we had officially winked at their presence, just as the Moroccans and Tunisians had ignored the presence of Algerian resistance fighters in their territories during the Algerian liberation struggle. The Vietnamese resistance fighters came and went without disturbing the life of the frontier people. If they needed something, and our people had it and wanted to sell, they bought and paid for it. They stayed away from our women. Our people were to have monstrously different experiences with other types of Vietnamese when Lon Nol brought in the Saigon troops. It was from American bombs and shells that our peasants suffered in the frontier areas—not from the occasional presence of the Vietcong. And in the areas most frequently and heavily bombed there had never been any trace of Vietcong. The corpses found were those of Cambodian peasants, including a high proportion of women and children. In any case, if the Americans, with 1,300,000 troops at their disposal, including over a half million of their own, could not seal off the frontier from their side, how could we be expected to do it from ours, when we had a total of only 330,000 troops to guard all our frontiers? Lon Nol had always shared my views on this. If he was now using a Vietcong presence as a pretext to reverse our policies—and to defy me—then there must be something much more serious going on.

It was with these thoughts in mind that I told President Podgorny that I would go ahead with the original itinerary of my visit to Moscow, and then continue on to Peking as planned. In any case I needed more time to watch developments in Phnom Penh. Later, some people said that I had missed my chance. Had I flown back immediately, I could have taken charge of things. We will see later whether or not this was correct.

The press reported that I had gone to Moscow to seek Soviet aid in expelling the Vietcong. This was not so. I had come primarily to enlist their support in strengthening our military position: I wanted to negotiate a military aid agreement. There had been increasing incursions by U.S. and Saigon forces from the east, and by the CIA-sponsored Khmer Serei (Free Khmer) traitor groups coming from their Thailand bases in the west. There were daily air violations. There had been no replacements of U.S. equipment since I halted American military aid in 1963, so there was a shortage of everything, especially transport. The Army officers were restless, and there was a real risk that they would demand the restoration of U.S. military aid unless something were done quickly.

After a few days of talks, the Russians agreed to supply everything I asked—but by then it was too late.

Premier Kosygin gave me a splendid lunch in the Kremlin shortly before I left. He placed me opposite himself at the table and, with the coffee, we spoke of the situation in Cambodia:

"You must prevent Lon Nol and Sirik Matak from stabbing the NLF in the back," he said. "If they do this, we will never forgive them. It is a difficult historical moment for our Vietnamese comrades. They are fighting for the liberation of their country. Get rid of Lon Nol and Sirik Matak. You have already given proof of your anti-imperialism. You have given precious support to the NLF. You have played a glorious role and we count on you in the future, too." I promised, of course, that my support would never waver.

By that time I had received a telegram from Premier Chou En-Lai expressing concern about events in Phnom Penh. On March 17, after the discussion with Premier Kosygin, I immediately sent the following message to the Queen Mother:

"The Socialist camp considers recent events to be a direct threat to the balance of forces between the United States and itself. Premier Chou En-Lai has asked our ambassador to inform me of the concern of China, which for the moment is maintaining its calm over the provocations threatening its Phnom Penh Embassy.

"The highest Soviet leaders have not failed to tell me that they consider the present policy of our right wing to be extremely dangerous for the future of our country. The Russians have offered me aid of many kinds to restore order and neutrality in Cambodia, but, while thanking them, I have told them that I reserve the right to act according to my conscience as a Cambodian, and in the behalf of what I believe to be the medium and long-term interests of my country and my people.

"One remark from Premier Kosygin seems to me pregnant with meaning. I quote: 'Our Vietnamese allies have good memories. Just as they will never forget the support you have given them during a very difficult period of their struggle, so they will remember at the right time the foul blow which your extreme right has struck at an even more difficult and decisive moment in their struggle against American Imperialism. If the extreme right continues to strike such blows at our allies, it will inevitably mean war between Cambodia and Vietnam.' I hope our leaders who are playing the sorcerer's apprentice will meditate on these words at length."

The Queen Mother had already summoned Lon Nol and Sirik Matak, demanding that they call off the anti-Vietnamese riots. They countered with a proposal to send a delegation to negotiate with me. The Queen, on my behalf, rightly refused—there was nothing to negotiate. It was a question of ceasing to violate policies embodied in our Constitution, policies which had kept the war away from our frontiers. The Queen Mother expressed strong indignation at the sacking of the embassies, and ordered Lon Nol and Sirik Matak to send written apologies and to pay for the damages.

Illustrated by Kim Chesley

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After the telegram was sent, discussions resumed with the Soviet leaders, among whom appeared for the first time, Leonid Brezhnev, Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee. The talks again centered on the situation in Phnom Penh and the effect this would have on the struggle in Vietnam. I received news of the arrest of some officers known to be loyal to myself, and heard rumors of an attempt to arrest Lon Nol and Sirik Matak. This confirmed my fears of a grave crisis.

After five days in Moscow I left for Peking on the afternoon of March 18. On the way to the airport, Premier Kosygin turned to me and said:

"There has been a vote in the National Assembly to strip you of your powers. What does that mean?" Members of my suite had heard the news on the radio, but could not bring themselves to tell me at that moment.

"What does it mean? It means I have been deposed," I replied.

"What do you intend to do about it?" he asked.

"I'll fight back, of course," I said.

Premier Kosygin then said: "You can have absolute confidence in the Soviet Union's support for your struggle. We will always support you. And to the end. You will see how it will be with the Chinese. They supported you while you were in power in Phnom Penh, but, now that you are no longer in power, you will see what they will do!" It was clear that he meant China would drop me immediately.

I thanked him and said: "I will continue on to Peking, and see my old friend Chou En-Lai to get his support. Then I shall return to Moscow."

I told members of the Cambodian community who had come to see me off that I had been deposed, but that, since Moscow and Peking did not recognize the new regime, I would consider setting up a government to organize a resistance struggle.

President Podgorny had placed his own plane at my disposal—a very comfortable plane with plenty of space to work.

I hardly need describe my feelings in those first few moments. My worst suspicions confirmed: Lon Nol turned traitor! That Sirik Matak acted as he had was no great surprise. He had hated me from childhood days because he thought his uncle, Prince Sisowath Monireth, should have been placed on the throne instead of myself. He even had a slight feeling that he himself should have been chosen. I knew of his contacts with the CIA when he was ambassador in Tokyo, and later in Manila. But that Lon Nol had allied himself with Sirik Matak was a shock. What was to be done?

We held a meeting with Penn Nouth and other members of my suite, and it was unanimously decided that we would launch a resistance struggle, and appeal to our people to fight back. My wife, Monique, who had consoled some of the other family members while the meeting was being held, said: "You have done so much; you have devoted your whole life to your country—and now they have deposed you. It would be better, perhaps if we retired to France."

"No," I said. "It's not the time to hide ourselves away—we would be condemned by history if we permitted Cambodia to become not only a military dictatorship, but once more a foreign colony. All my life I have dreamed of the independence of our country. I did not win it from France in order to abandon it now. The Monarchy must not stand aside in this struggle. We must participate—because it is certain the day will come when U.S. imperialism will be defeated in Indochina—beaten by the Vietnamese and by our Khmers Rouges. And the Pathet Lao will win in Laos. It is the duty of the Monarchy to remain with the people."

Monique understood immediately. We sat down at the table—Monique at my side and Penn Nouth opposite me—while our plane cruised 10,000 meters above the Siberian wastes, and I commenced the draft of the Proclamation and Appeal to Resistance: a document which has since attained historical significance, like the June 18th Appeal of De Gaulle, which sparked the French resistance struggle against the Nazi invaders. I think none of us slept on that flight; some of us were in a state of emotional turmoil which forbade rest, while Monique, Samdech, and myself worked without respite to finish the Proclamation. It was not actually broadcast until March 23, because we had to study developments in Cambodia before I could put the last touches to it. But by the time our plane touched down at Peking airport, the major part of it had been completed.

IN PEKING, EVENTS PROVED TO BE the opposite of what Premier Kosygin had predicted. Chou En-Lai embraced me warmly as I stepped out of the plane. He knew me well enough to take it for granted that I would put up a fight, and had already acted on that assumption. He had convoked the entire diplomatic corps,

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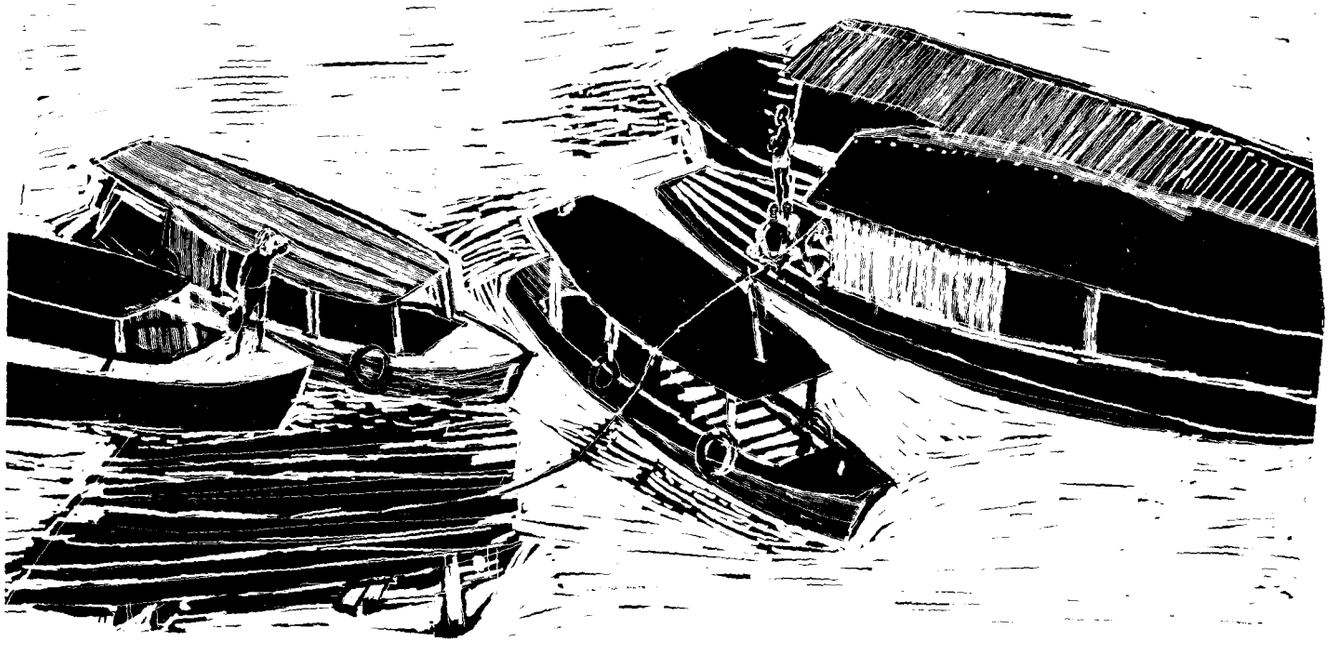

which was lined up for my arrival. "You remain the Head of State," he said. "The only one. We will never recognize another." He said he was going to publish the name of every ambassador and *charge d' affaires* who had turned up for my arrival, in the Hsinhua news service and in the Chinese newspapers, to emphasize the recognition of myself as Head of State. By this time it was towards midday of March 19, and the news that I had been deposed was one day old. Some of the diplomats present still thought I might be able to redress the situation, and others, later, abandoned me when I could not do so. But, with one or two exceptions, they were all there that morning—from forty-one countries altogether.

The day after I arrived in Peking, Premier Pham Van Dong arrived from Hanoi. He greeted me with fervor and exclaimed: "From now on you are our comrade-in-arms. We are proud to have you in our camp in the struggle against the U.S." Western press reports spoke of "negotiations," and "mediation" by Chou En-Lai. This was nonsense. Our solidarity had always been there—now it was raised to a higher level and buttressed by the force of events.

One of my first acts in Peking was to receive the Soviet *chargé d'affaires*. I related my conversation with Premier Kosygin, and said that now I was assured of Chinese support, and would welcome a public statement from the Soviet Union, along the lines of Premier Kosygin's unofficial assurances. The reply from the Soviet *chargé* was that, because I was now on Chinese soil, it would be better first for the Chinese to make a public statement, and the Soviet Union would follow suit. (I had mistakenly thought I was giving the Soviets a deserved political advantage in letting them be first to announce their official support, in return for their being ahead of China in giving me their unofficial pledge.)

The opening conversation with Premier Pham Van Dong went something like this:

"How can we help?"

"Military instructors," I replied. "We have no lack of manpower, and the Chinese have promised arms. But we lack trained cadres. You have the best in the world for the type of war we have to fight."

"I'll tell Giap to send you a couple of thousand of the best we have," replied Premier Dong.

We discussed at length the best ways of coordinating the struggle of the three peoples of Indochina, and at that conference the first germs of the idea of a Summit Conference of the Peoples of Indochina were generated.

Every day there were discussions with Chou En-Lai, who brought me many encouraging messages from Chairman Mao, and while supporting me in my resolution to resist, also cautioned: "We warn you. We have experience. Wars like this are not easy." I knew that—because of the experience of my Vietnamese friends, and because of our own combat against the French.

On May 1, on a later journey to Peking, I spoke with Chairman Mao just before he mounted the tribune at Tien An Men for the May 1st celebrations. He questioned me at length about Lon Nol, whom he had met during the previous October First Festivities, but who had made little impression on him. Mao was interested in everything going on in Cambodia, and in my role in Cambodian affairs: "I would rather shake the hand of a prince like you, who is a patriot," he said, "than with so-called sons of the people like certain other heads of state. You have played a splendid role. You deserve to be a communist. You must tell us what you need," he told me, "If we've got it, you'll have it. And anything we give you is nothing compared to what you give us by heading the struggle of the Cambodian people."

During my first days in Peking, in March, Premier Chou and Premier Dong gave me categorical assurance that after victory, Cambodia would be "independent, sovereign, neutral, and free of any Vietnamese military presence."

"China is one country; Cambodia is another," said Chou En-Lai. "China will remain communist; Cambodia should remain neutral."

From the beginning, the Chinese government respected my independence of thought and action, my royalism, my

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nationalism, my Buddhism, my dignity. They offered generous financial aid and, out of respect for my feelings, they delicately called it a "loan" repayable thirty years after victory!

The French Ambassador, Monsieur Manac'h visited me with a message from his government to the effect that if I retired to France, they would place a nice villa, a car, and chauffeur at my disposal. I thanked him and said: "The Chinese government just offered me these things. But, they were only the first installment–the second part consists of support for my struggle. So I must accept their two-part offer, and refuse yours."

After he departed, I suddenly recalled an incident which had occurred at Grasse, on the French Riviera, when I was undergoing medical attention there. I was invited to lunch by General Nhiek Tioulong. As we walked towards the restaurant past people enjoying an early aperitif, I heard someone say: "Look, there goes Bao Dai.* Look how fat and sleek he is–lives like a grand seigneur, and it's you and I who are paying for it." (A case of mistaken identity, but nonetheless a typical example of the French attitude toward me.) In Peking, when I took a walk, people recognized me for who I was and said: "You are rendering a great service to our country, to Asia, and the world. You helped the Vietnamese resistance heroes. Now the Cambodian people have pitched in and you are their leader." That felt much better than being dubbed a "fat and sleek Bao Dai" by vacationers in the South of France!

Among the diplomats who came to see me in Peking was the Cambodian ambassador, May Valentin. I asked him to send some equipment for my secretariat–a duplicator and typewriters. This he did, but a few days later he sent someone to collect them, and at the same time informed me that he had a long and important cabled message from Lon Nol. This was no less than an order for me to cease all activities, and to stop making public announcements! I immediately convoked the Cambodian community in the presence of the ambassador and read the message.

"What is your reply to Lon Nol?" asked Valentin.

"This," I said and, tearing the cable into pieces, I flung it down and ground it under my heel. "Send him this for my reply." He picked up the scraps and withdrew.

Between April 5 and 7, Chou En-Lai made an official visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In his speeches, and in those of Marshal Kim Il Sung, as well as in the joint communique, the strongest support was expressed for the National United Front of Cambodia (set up as the result of my Appeal) and for myself as Head of State. I again met with the Soviet *chargé d'affaires,* and pointed out to him that China's support was now open and official, and that I would appreciate a similar statement by his government.

"But the statement of support was not made on Chinese soil," he objected.

"I would have no objection if Premier Kosygin would make a similar statement on Polish or Czech soil," I riposted.

A month later, in early May, we set up in liberated territory within Cambodia the Royal Government of National Union, with the key ministries of Defense, Internal Affairs and Information. This government was immediately recognized by over twenty states, but to this day, not by the Soviet Union, nor–with the exceptions of Albania, Rumania, and Yugoslavia–by any European socialist states.

Many people have criticized me for being too dependent on China, because our government is located on Chinese soil. But a very substantial half of our government is deeply rooted in free Cambodian soil. My original idea was to pay a short visit to Peking to secure concrete terms from China. I admired the way the North Vietnamese had achieved a balance in their relations with Peking and Moscow. They have China in one pan and the Soviet Union in another, so the scales are balanced. We wanted to do the same. We have China in one pan–but the other is empty! (China is not opposed to the Soviet Union helping my cause. In fact, Chou En-Lai has assured me that this could be a factor leading to some slight improvement in

(Continued on Page 42)

**The ex-"Emperor" of Vietnam serving under the French and Japanese. Deposed in 1955, he retired to the French Riviera.*

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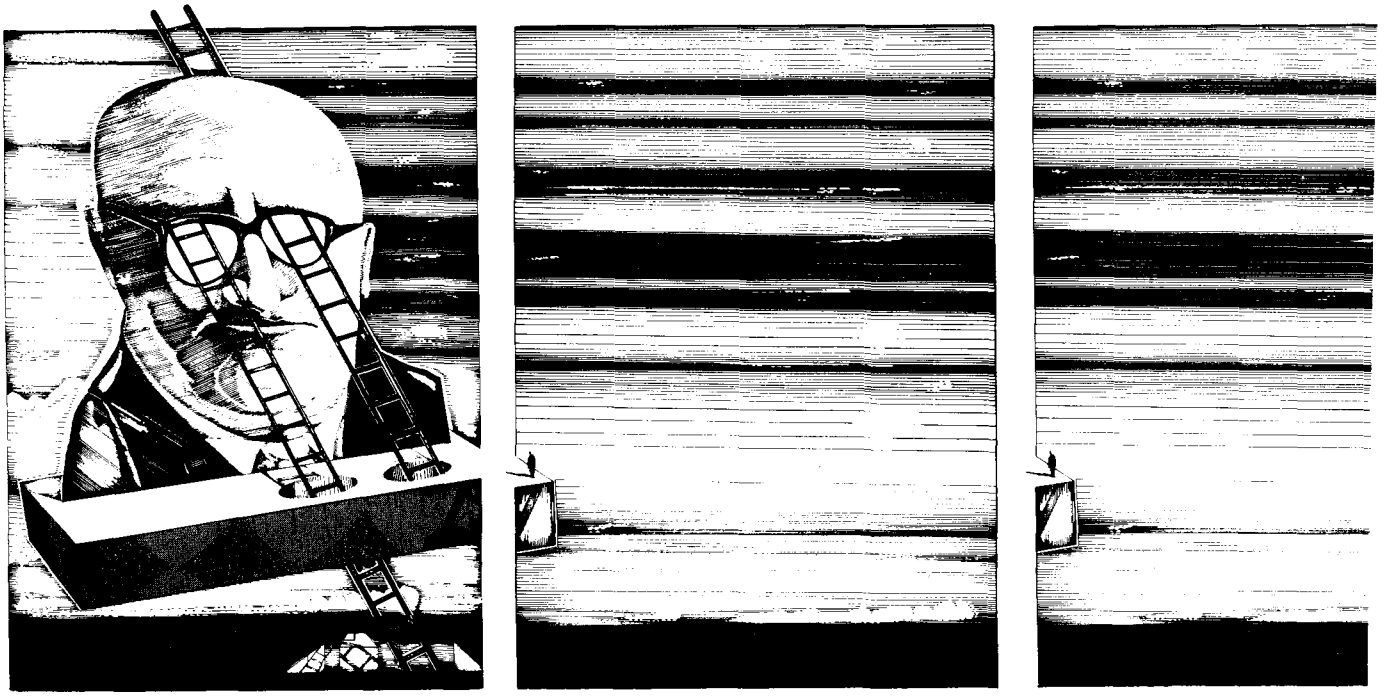

I.Q. Tests: Building Blocks for the New Class System

In the following article Noam Chomsky discusses the controversial views of Harvard Psychologist Richard Herrnstein, which first received widespread attention when they were presented, under the laconic title "I.Q." in the September 1971 Atlantic. *Herrnstein stands as one of the more intellectually respectable of a recent crop of scientific apologists for social inequity, the more notorious exponents ranging downward through Berkeley Professor A. R. Jensen, to the lower depths occupied by William Shockley, the Stanford electrical engineer. But if all these academics cannot be fairly lumped together without distinction, one thing they do share in common is the basic intellectual decrepitude of their arguments, which in essence they have merely dug up from the past and fitted out in terms that suit the current mode.*

Class subordination and social privilege have never been the most promising subjects for ethical defense. Historically the defenses that have been mustered, and which could be espoused with any presentable show of disinterest or conviction, have turned out to be very few, and by now rather ancient. But since every system of social inequality craves to be legitimized, the same time worn apologia of privilege have had to be perennially resurrected. And in each case an attempt is made to draw renewed conviction from the particular epoch's most vital springs of faith.

Thus, in orthodox times the social order is sanctified by its conformity to the Divine Order, a sanctity which has been considered useful at one time or another by both the pedigreed noble and the successful bourgeois, by the annointed and the elect.

In a period (like our own) when rationalism casts doubt on divine testimonials on behalf of the ruling class, a substitute is usually found in science. Privilege is now shown to be in conformity with the Natural Order rather than the Divine. Class subordination is no longer "what God decreed," but "what Nature intended."

For those on top, whether their endorsement comes from science or religion, the main thing is that authority is on the side of power. Of course for people (like ourselves) who consider themselves hardheaded, the appeal to science has always been more persuasive, since any subjective inclination of the privileged in favor of the status quo will presumably be tested against objective data.

Aristotle, for instance, considering whether slavery was really natural and just, appealed to the evidence of biology: "all tame animals are better off when they are ruled by man; for then they are preserved. Again, the male is by nature superior, and the female inferior; and the one rules and the other is ruled," and he concludes, "this principle, of necessity, extends to all mankind."

The Greeks generally at this time relied on an objective criterion to indicate the naturally subordinate. The barbaros, *meaning those people who did not speak Greek,*

by Noam Chomsky

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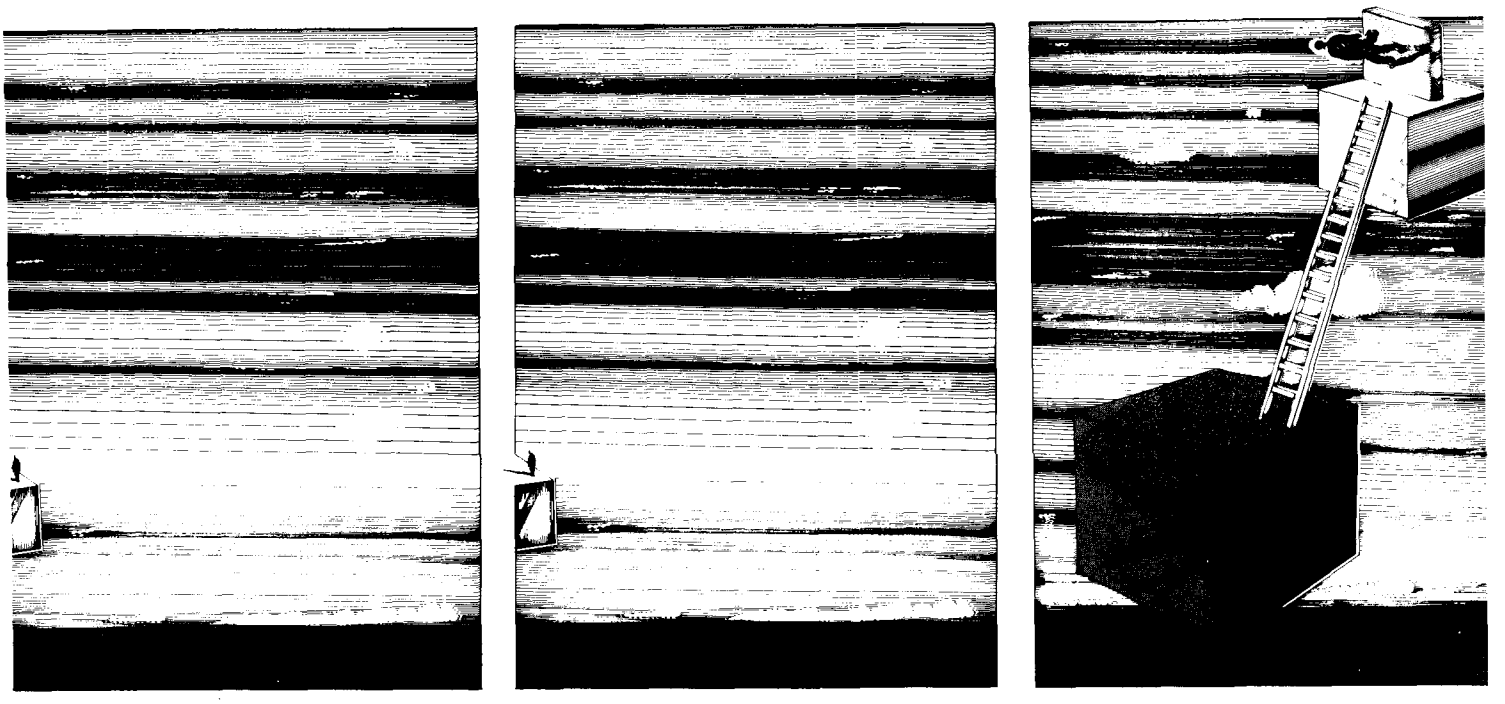

were set off almost as a distinct species by their deficient linguistic ability. Greek speaking served as a kind of I.Q. test for them, and those who flunked it were fair game to be conquered and enslaved.

An appeal to science was also made by Thomas Hobbes in his defense of absolutist government and total submission to established power. These were necessary, he argued, as the only viable alternative to the intolerable state suffered by people lacking such an authority. So that we should not have to rely on his own speculative assessment of the dire alternative to absolutist rule, Hobbes resorted to what we now call anthropology, citing empirical data gathered by observers in the field: "The savage people in many places of America, except for the government of small families, the concord whereof depends on natural lust, have no government at all and live at this day in that brutish manner as I said before."

In the 19th century, Charles Darwin's depiction of Survival of the Fittest gave a tremendous scientific boost to those who wished to believe that the people on the top in society were there because they deserved to be. In Bertrand Russell's words, Darwin's model was popularly pictured as "a global free competition, in which victory went to the animals that most resembled successful capitalists."

Of course nowadays the self-serving interpretations and anecdotal methods that used to pass for science would influence no one. Today we give credence only to what impresses us as hard data, and we look for the authenticating signs: everybody recognizes that laboratories are scientific, and everybody knows that numbers are precise. It is natural then that the current attempts to legitimize class subordination and social privilege should employ these present day talismans of scientific authority as they are applied in the study of human psychology. So we have appeals first to the principles of behaviorist psychology, whose identification with the laboratory is so complete because they never found much in reality outside of it; and second to the statistics of the I.Q. which being numerical are thought to transform the amorphous concept of intelligence into something quantifiably precise.

Appeals to one or both of these are the basis of the new genre of scientific apologia for established privilege and the status quo. Although white racial chauvinism is not flatly expounded in the more respectable of the various arguments, it is always present. And it is clear that in the consciousness and unconciousness of white America there exists a longing to have the socially repressed ugliness of candid racism vindicated and unleashed by prestigious professors using two dollar words. There is the feeling that if debator's points could be won in a few university classrooms, the great historical imperatives of racial justice that are straining and testing American society will somehow be eased, and continued suppression of black people will suddenly be morally sanctioned and socially tenable.

It is odd that these academicians and others ever got the idea in the first place that the roots of the intractable racial conflict in America could be searched out by probing for a statistical margin of racial difference. The manifest social reality that stares us in the face is just the opposite. It is precisely the tension between equality *and inequity that is so agonizing and explosive. Hobbes understood the dynamic of equality and social conflict far better than today's computerized numerologists:* "From this equality of ability *arises equality of hope in the attaining of our ends. And therefore if any two men desire the same thing, which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies . . . and from hence it comes to pass that . . . if one plant, sow, build, or possess a convenient seat, others may probably be expected to come with forces united to dispossess and deprive him, not only of the fruit of his labor, but also of his life or liberty. And the invader again is in the like danger of another."*

—DAVID KOLODNEY

Illustrations by Paul Spina

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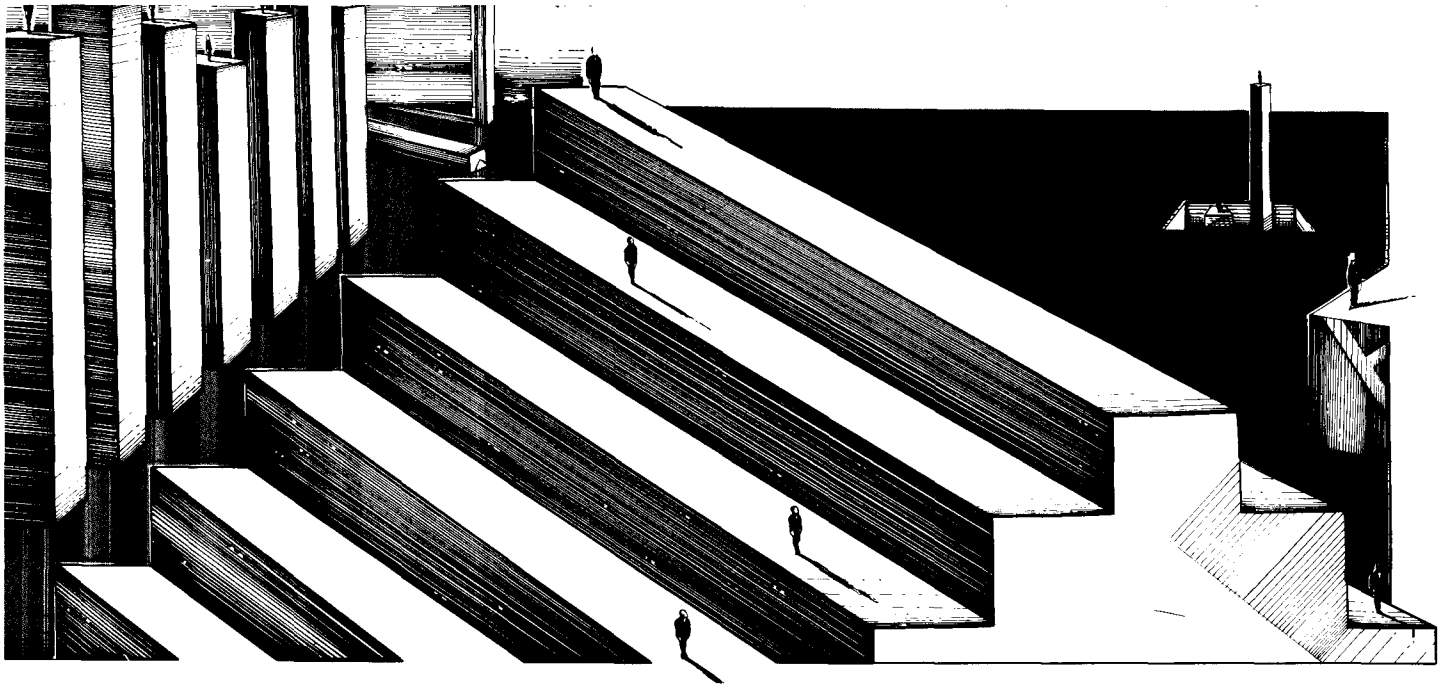

IN THE TEN MONTHS SINCE DR. RICHARD HERRNSTEIN'S article "I.Q." first appeared in the *Atlantic*, it has become the focus of an intriguing controversy, predictably intense but surprisingly sustained. There is no question that Herrnstein's argument is provocative; he purports to show that American society is drifting inexorably towards a stable hereditary meritocracy, towards a social stratification determined by inborn differences and a corresponding distribution of "rewards."

Herrnstein's argument is based first of all on the hypothesis that differences in mental abilities are inherited and that people close to one another in mental ability are more likely to marry and reproduce so that there will be a tendency toward long-term stratification by mental ability (which Herrnstein takes to be measured by I.Q.). Secondly, Herrnstein argues that "success" requires mental ability and that social rewards "depend on success." This step in the argument embodies two assumptions: that it is so in fact; and that it must be so for society to function effectively. The conclusion is that there is a tendency toward hereditary meritocracy, with "social standing (which reflects earnings and prestige)" concentrated in groups with higher I.Q.'s. This tendency will be accelerated as society becomes more egalitarian, that is, as artificial social barriers are eliminated, defects in prenatal (e.g., nutritional) environment are overcome, and so on, so that natural ability can play a more direct role in attainment of social reward. Therefore, as society becomes more egalitarian, social rewards will be concentrated in a hereditary meritocratic elite.

Herrnstein has been widely denounced as a racist for this argument, a conclusion which seems to me unwarranted. There is, however, an ideological element in his argument that is absolutely critical to it. Consider the second step, that is, the claim that I.Q. is a factor in attaining reward and that this must be so for society to function effectively. Herrnstein recognizes that his argument will collapse if, indeed, society can be organized in accordance with the "socialist dictum, 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'" His argument would not apply in a society in which "income (economic, social, and political) is unaffected by success."

Actually, Herrnstein fails to point out that his argument not only requires the assumption that success must be rewarded, but that it must be rewarded in quite specific ways. If individuals were rewarded for success only by prestige, then no conclusions of any importance would follow. It would only follow (granting his other assumptions) that the children of people respected for their achievements would be more likely to win respect by achievements of their own—an innocuous result even if true. It may be that the child of two Olympic swimmers has a greater than average chance of achieving the same success (and the acclaim for it), but no dire social consequences follow from this hypothesis.

The conclusion that Herrnstein and others find disturbing is that wealth and power will tend to concentrate in a hereditary meritocracy. But this follows only on the assumption that the rewards of successful achievement must be wealth and power (not merely respect) and that these (or their effects) must be transmittable, that is, allowed to be passed on from parents to children. The issue is confused by Herrnstein's failure to isolate the specific factors crucial to his argument, and his use of the phrase "income (economic, social, and political)" to cover "rewards" of all types, including respect as well as wealth. It is confused further by the fact that he continually slips into identifying "social standing" with wealth. Thus, for example, he writes that, if the social ladder is tapered steeply, the obvious way to rescue the people at the bottom is "to increase the aggregate wealth of society so that there is more room at the top"—which is untrue if "social standing" is solely a matter of acclaim and respect. (We overlook the fact that even on his tacit assumption, redistribution of income would appear to be an equally obvious strategy.)

Consider then the narrower assumption that is crucial to his argument: not just that transmittable wealth and power do presently accrue to mental ability, but that they must for society to function effectively. If this assumption is false and society *can* be organized more or less in accordance with the "socialist dictum," then nothing is left of

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Herrnstein's argument (except that it will apply to a competitive society in which his other factual assumptions hold). But, Herrnstein claims, the assumption is true. The reason is that an individual's ability "expresses itself in labor only for gain" and people "compete for gain—economic and otherwise." People will work only if they are rewarded in terms of "social and political influence or relief from threat." All of this is merely asserted; no justification is given.

What reason is there to believe the crucial assumption that, because people will work only for gain in (transmittable) wealth and power, society cannot be organized in accordance with the socialist dictum? In a decent society, everyone would have the opportunity to find interesting work, and each person would be permitted the fullest possible scope for his talents. Would more be required—in particular, extrinsic reward in the form of wealth and power? Only if we assume that applying one's talents in interesting and socially useful work is not rewarding in itself, that there is no intrinsic satisfaction in creative and productive work, suited to one's abilities, or in helping others (say, one's family, friends, associates, or simply fellow members of society). Unless we suppose this, then even granting all of Herrnstein's other assumptions, it does not follow that there should be any concentration of wealth or power in a hereditary elite.

For Herrnstein's argument to have any force at all we must assume that people labor only for gain, and that the satisfaction found in interesting or socially beneficial work or in work well-done or in the respect shown to such activities, is not a sufficient "gain" to induce anyone to work. The assumption, in short, is that without material reward, people will vegetate. For this crucial assumption, no semblance of an argument is offered. Rather, Herrnstein merely asserts that if bakers and lumberjacks "got the top salaries and the top social approval,"* in place of those now at the top of the social ladder, then "the scale of I.Q.'s would also invert," and the most talented would strive to become bakers and lumberjacks. This, of course, is not an argument, but merely a reiteration of the claim that, necessarily, individuals work only for extrinsic reward. Furthermore, it is an extremely implausible claim. I doubt very much that Herrnstein would become a baker or lumberjack if he could earn more money that way.

Similar points are made in the commentary on Herrnstein's article in the November, 1971 *Atlantic*.** In this response he merely reiterates his belief that there is no way "to end the blight of differential rewards." Repeated assertion, however, is not to be confused with argument. Herrnstein's further contention that "history shows . . ." in effect concedes defeat. Of course history shows concentration of wealth and power in the hands of those able to accumulate it. One thought Herrnstein was trying to do more than merely expound this truism.

If we look more carefully at what history and experience show, we find that, where free exercise is permitted to the qualities of ruthlessness, cunning, and the other ingedients of "success" in competitive societies, then those who have these qualities will rise to the top and will use their wealth and power to preserve and extend the privileges they attain. They will also construct ideologies to demonstrate that this result is only fair and just. We also find, contrary to capitalist ideology and behaviorist doctrine, that many people often do not act solely, or even primarily, so as to achieve material gain, or even so as to maximize applause. As for the argument (if offered) that "history shows" the untenability of the "socialist dictum," this may be assigned the same status as an argument made in the 18th century that capitalist democracy is impossible, as history then showed. Evidently, from the lessons of history we can reach only the most tentative conclusions about basic human tendencies.

Suppose that Herrnstein's crucial and unargued claim is incorrect. Suppose that there is in fact some intrinsic satisfaction in employing one's talents in challenging and creative work. Then, one might argue, this should compensate even for a diminution of extrinsic reward; and "reinforcement" should be given for the performance of unpleasant and boring tasks. It follows, then, that there should be a concentration of wealth (and the power that comes from wealth) among the less talented. I do not urge this conclusion, but merely observe that it is more plausible than Herrnstein's if his fundamental and unsupported assumption is false.

The belief that people must be driven or drawn to work by "gain" is a curious one. Of course, it is true if we use the vacuous behaviorist scheme and speak of the "reinforcing quality" of interesting or useful work; the belief may also be true, though irrelevant to Herrnstein's thesis, if the "gain" sought is merely general respect and prestige. But the assumption necessary for Herrnstein's argument is that people must be driven or drawn to work by the quest for wealth or power. This obviously does not derive from science, nor does it appear to be supported by personal experience. I suspect that Herrnstein would exclude himself from the generalization, as already noted. Thus I am not convinced that he would at once apply for a job as a garbage collector if this were to pay more than his present position as a teacher and research psychologist. He would say, I am sure, that he does his work not because it maximizes wealth (or even prestige) but because it is interesting and challenging, that is, intrinsically rewarding; and there is no reason to doubt that this response would be correct. The statistical evidence, he points out, suggests that "if *very* high income is your goal, and you have a high I.Q., do not waste your time with formal education beyond high school." Thus, if you are an economic maximizer with a high I.Q. don't bother with a college education. Few follow this advice, quite probably because they prefer interesting work to mere material reward. The assumption that people will work only for gain in wealth and power is not only unargued, but quite probably false, except under extreme deprivation. But this degrading and brutal assumption, common to capitalist ideology and the behaviorist view of human beings, is fundamental to Herrnstein's argument.

THERE ARE OTHER IDEOLOGICAL ELEMENTS in Herrnstein's argument, more peripheral, but still worth noting. He invariably describes the society he sees evolving as a "meritocracy," thus expressing the value judgment that the characteristics that yield reward are a sign of merit, that is, positive characteristics. He con-

* He does not specifically mention this assumption, but it is necessary to the argument.

** Note again Herrnstein's failure to distinguish remuneration from social approval, though the argument collapses if the only reward is approval.

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siders I.Q. specifically, but of course recognizes that there might very well be other factors in the attainment of "social success." One might speculate, rather plausibly, that wealth and power tend to accrue to those who are ruthless, cunning, avaricious, self-seeking, lacking in sympathy and compassion, subservient to authority, willing to abandon principle for material gain, and so on. Furthermore, these less endearing traits might well be as heritable as I.Q., and might outweigh I.Q. as factors in gaining material reward. Such qualities might be just the most valuable ones for a Hobbsean war of all against all. If so, then the society that results (applying Herrnstein's "syllogism") could hardly be characterized as a "meritocracy." By using the word "meritocracy" Herrnstein begs some interesting questions and reveals implicit assumptions about our society that are hardly self-evident.

Teachers in ghetto schools commonly observe that students who are self-reliant, imaginative, energetic and unwilling to submit to authority are often regarded as troublemakers and punished, on occasion even driven out of the school system. The implicit assumption that in a highly discriminatory society, or one with tremendous inequality of wealth and power, the "meritorious" will be rewarded, is a curious one indeed.

Consider further Herrnstein's assumption that in fact social rewards accrue to those who perform beneficial and needed services. He claims that the "gradient of occupations" is "a natural measure of value and scarcity," and that "the ties among I.Q., occupation, and social standing make practical sense." This is his way of expressing the familiar theory that people are automatically rewarded in a just society (and more or less in our society) in accordance with their contributions to social welfare or "output." The theory is familiar, and so are its fallacies.

To assume that society's rewards go to those who have performed a social service is to succumb to essentially the same fallacy (among others) involved in the claim that a free market leads to the optimal satisfaction of wants. In fact, when wealth is badly distributed, a free market will tend to produce luxuries for the few who can pay, rather than necessities for the many who cannot. Similarly, given great inequalities of wealth, we will expect to find that the "gradient of occupations" by pay is a natural measure, not of service to society but of service to wealth and power, to those who can purchase and compel. The ties among I.Q., occupation, and social standing that Herrnstein notes make "practical sense" for those with wealth and power, but not necessarily for society or its members in general.

The point is quite obvious. Herrnstein's failure to notice it is particularly surprising given the data on which he bases his observations about the relation between social reward and occupation. He bases these judgments on a ranking of occupations which shows, for example, that accountants, specialists in public relations, auditors, and sales managers tend to have higher I.Q.'s (hence, he would claim, receive higher pay, as they must if society is to function effectively) than musicians, riveters, bakers, lumberjacks and teamsters. Accountants were ranked highest among 74 listed occupations, with public relations 4th, musicians 35th, riveters 50th, bakers 65th, truck drivers 67th, and lumberjacks 70th. From such data, Herrnstein concludes that society is wisely "husbanding its intellectual resources"* and that the gradient of occupation is a natural measure of value and makes practical sense.

Is it obvious that an accountant helping a corporation to cut its tax bill is doing work of greater social value than a musician, riveter, baker, truck driver, or lumberjack? Is a lawyer who earns a $100,000 fee to keep a dangerous drug on the market worth more to society than a farm worker or a nurse? Is a surgeon who performs operations for the rich doing work of greater social value than a practitioner in the slums, who may work much harder for much less extrinsic reward? The gradient of occupations that Herrnstein uses to support his claims surely reflects, at least in part, the demands of wealth and power; a further argument is needed to demonstrate Herrnstein's claim that those at the top of the list are performing the highest service to "society," which is wisely husbanding its resources by rewarding accountants and public relations experts and engineers (e.g., designers of anti-personnel weapons) for their special skills. Herrnstein's failure to notice what his data immediately suggest is another indication of his uncritical and apparently unconscious acceptance of capitalist ideology in its crudest form.

If the ranking of occupations by I.Q. correlates with ranking by income, this could be interpreted in part as indicating an unfortunate social bias leading able individuals toward occupations that serve the wealthy and powerful and away from work that might be more satisfying and socially useful. This would certainly seem at least a plausible assumption, but one that Herrnstein never discusses, given his unquestioning acceptance of the prevailing ideology.

There is, no doubt, some complex of characteristics conducive to material reward in a stable capitalist society. This complex may include I.Q. and quite possibly other more important factors, perhaps those noted earlier. To the extent that these characteristics are heritable (and a factor in choosing mates) there will be a tendency toward stratification in terms of these qualities. This much is obvious enough.

Furthermore, people with higher I.Q.'s will tend to have more freedom in selection of occupation. Depending on their other traits and opportunities, they will tend to choose more interesting work or more remunerative work, these categories being by no means identical. Therefore one can expect to find some correlation between I.Q. and material reward, and some correlation between I.Q. and an independent ranking of occupations according to their intrinsic interest and intellectual challenge. Were we to rank occupations by social utility in some manner, we would probably find at most a weak correlation with remuneration or with intrinsic interest, and quite possibly a negative correlation. Unequal distribution of wealth and power will naturally introduce a bias toward greater remuneration for services to the privileged, thereby causing the scale of re-

* Misleading. Herrnstein states: "society is, in effect, husbanding its intellectual resources by holding engineers in greater esteem and paying them more." But if he really wants to claim this on the basis of the ties between I.Q. and social standing that his data reveal, then he should conclude as well that society is husbanding its intellectual resources by holding accountants and PR men in greater esteem and paying them more. Quite apart from this, it is not so obvious as he apparently believes that society is wisely husbanding its intellectual resources by employing most of its scientists and engineers in military and space R-and-D.

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muneration to diverge from the scale of social utility in many instances.

From Herrnstein's data and arguments, we can draw no further conclusions about what would happen in a just society—unless we add the assumption that people labor only for material gain, for wealth and power, and that unless offered such a reward they would rather vegetate than seek interesting work suited to their abilities. Since Herrnstein offers no reason why we should believe any of this (and there is certainly some reason why we should not), none of his conclusions follow from his factual assumptions, even if these are correct. The crucial step in his "syllogism" in effect amounts to a bare assertion that the ideology of capitalist society accurately expresses universal traits of human nature, and that certain related, implicit assumptions of behaviorist psychology are correct. Conceivably, these unsupported assumptions are true. But once it is recognized how critical their role is in Herrnstein's argument and how insubstantial their empirical support, any further interest in this argument would seem to evaporate.

I have assumed so far that prestige, respect, and so on might be factors in causing people to work (as Herrnstein implies). This seems to me by no means obvious, though, even if it is true, Herrnstein's conclusions clearly do not follow. In a decent society, socially necessary and unpleasant work would be divided on some egalitarian basis, and beyond that people would have, as an inalienable right, the widest possible opportunity to do work that interests them. They might be rewarded ("reinforced") by self-respect, if they do their work to the best of their ability, or if their work benefits those to whom they are related by bonds of friendship and sympathy and solidarity. Such projections are commonly an object of ridicule—as it was common, in an earlier period, to scoff at the absurd idea that a peasant had the same inalienable rights as a nobleman. There always have been, and no doubt always will be, people who cannot conceive of the possibility that things could be different from what they are. Perhaps they are right, but again one awaits a rational argument.

In a decent society of the sort just described—which, one might think, becomes increasingly realizable with technological progress—there should be no shortage of scientists, engineers, surgeons, artists, craftsmen, teachers, and so on, simply because such work is intrinsically rewarding. There is no reason to doubt that people in these occupations would work as hard as those fortunate few who can choose their own work generally do today. Of course, if Herrnstein's assumptions, borrowed from capitalist ideology and behaviorist belief, are correct, then people will remain idle rather than do such work unless there is deprivation and extrinsic reward. But no reason is suggested as to why we should accept this strange and demeaning doctrine.

LURKING IN THE BACKGROUND OF THE DEBATE over Herrnstein's syllogism is the matter of race, though he himself barely alludes to it. His critics are disturbed, and rightly so, by the fact that his argument will surely be exploited by racists to justify discrimination, much as Herrnstein may personally deplore this fact. More generally, Herrnstein's argument will be adopted by the privileged to justify their privilege on grounds that they are being rewarded for their ability and that such reward is necessary if society is to function properly. The situation is reminiscent of 19th century racist anthropology. Marvin Harris notes:

> *Racism also had its use as a justification for class and caste hierarchies; it was a splendid explanation of both national and class privilege. It helped to maintain slavery and serfdom; it smoothed the way for the rape of Africa and the slaughter of the American Indian; it steeled the nerves of the Manchester captains of industry as they lowered wages, lengthened the working day, and hired more women and children.**

We can expect Herrnstein's arguments to be used in a similar way, and for similar reasons. When we discover that his argument is without force, unless we adopt unargued and implausible premises that happen to incorporate the dominant ideology, we quite naturally turn to the question of the social function of his conclusions and ask why the argument is taken seriously.

Since the issue is often obscured by polemic, it is perhaps worth stating again that the question of the validity and scientific status of a particular point of view is of course logically independent from the question of its social function. But each is a legitimate topic of inquiry, and the social function takes on a particular interest when the point of view in question is revealed to be seriously deficient on empirical or logical grounds.

The 19th century racist anthropologists were no doubt quite often honest and sincere. They may have believed that they were simply dispassionate investigators, advancing science, following the facts where they led. Conceding this, we might nevertheless question their judgment, and not merely because the evidence was poor and the arguments fallacious. We might take note of the relative lack of concern over the ways in which these "scientific investigations" were likely to be used. It would be a poor excuse for the 19th century racist anthropologist to plead, in Herrnstein's words, that "a neutral commentator . . . would have to say that the case is simply not settled" (with regard to racial inferiority) and that the "fundamental issue" is "whether inquiry shall (again) be shut off because someone thinks society is best left in ignorance." The 19th century racist anthropologist, like any other person, is responsible for the effects of what he does, insofar as they can be clearly foreseen. If the likely consequences of his "scientific work" are those that Harris describes, he has the responsibility to take this likelihood into account. This would be true even if the work had real scientific merit—in fact, more so in that case.

Similarly, imagine a psychologist in Hitler's Germany who thought he could show that Jews had a genetically determined tendency toward usury (like squirrels bred to collect too many nuts) or a drive toward anti-social conspiracy and domination, and so on. If he were criticized for even undertaking these studies, would it be sufficient for him to respond that "a natural commentator . . . would have to say that the case is simply not settled" and that the "fundamental issue" is "whether inquiry shall (again) be shut off because someone thinks society is best left in

* *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

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ignorance?" I think not. I think that such a response would have been met with justifiable contempt. At best, he could claim that he is faced with a conflict of values. On the one hand, there is the alleged scientific importance of determining whether in fact Jews have a genetically determined tendency toward usury and domination (an empirical question, no doubt). On the other, there is the likelihood that even opening this question and regarding it as a subject for scientific inquiry would provide ammunition for Goebbels and Rosenberg and their henchmen. Were this hypothetical psychologist to disregard the likely social consequences of his research (or even of his undertaking such research) under existing social conditions, he would fully deserve the contempt of decent people. Of course, scientific curiosity should be encouraged (though fallacious argument and investigation of silly questions should not), but it is not an absolute value.

The extravagant praise lavished on Herrnstein's flimsy argument and the widespread failure to note its implicit bias and unargued assumptions* suggest that we are not dealing simply with a question of scientific curiosity. Since it is impossible to explain this acclaim on the basis of the substance or force of the argument, it is natural to ask whether the conclusions are so welcome to many commentators that they lose their critical faculties and fail to perceive that certain crucial and quite unsupported assumptions happen to be nothing other than a variant of the prevailing ideology. This failure is disturbing, more so, perhaps, than the conclusions Herrnstein attempts to draw from his flawed syllogism.

Turning to the question of race and intelligence, we are granting too much to the contemporary investigator of this question when we see him as faced with a conflict of values: scientific curiosity versus social consequences. Given the virtual certainty that even the undertaking of the inquiry will reinforce some of the most despicable features of our society, the authenticity of the presumed moral dilemma depends critically on the scientific significance of the issue that he is choosing to investigate. Even if the scientific significance were immense, we should certainly question the seriousness of the dilemma, given the likely social consequences. But if the scientific interest of any possible finding is slight, then the dilemma vanishes.

In fact, it seems that the question of the relation, if any, between race and intelligence has very little scientific importance (as it has no social importance, except under the assumptions of a racist society). A possible correlation between mean I.Q. and skin color is of no greater scientific interest than a correlation between any two other arbitrarily selected traits, say, mean height and color of eyes. The empirical results, whatever they might be, appear to have little bearing on any issue of scientific significance. In the present state of scientific understanding, there would appear to be little interest in the discovery that one partly heritable trait correlates (or does not) with another partly heritable trait. Such questions might be interesting if the results had some bearing, say, on hypotheses about the physiological mechanisms involved, but this is not the case. Therefore the investigation seems of quite limited scientific interest, and the zeal and intensity with which some pursue or welcome it cannot reasonably be attributed to a dispassionate desire to advance science. It would, of course, be foolish to claim, in response, that "society should not be left in ignorance." Society is happily "in ignorance" of an infinitude of insignificant matters of all sorts. And, with the best of will, it is difficult to avoid questioning the good faith of those who deplore the alleged "anti-intellectualism" of the critics of scientifically trivial and socially malicious investigations. On the contrary, the investigator of race and intelligence might do well to explain the intellectual significance of the topic he is studying, and thus enlighten us as to the moral dilemma he perceives. If he perceives none, the conclusion is obvious, with no further discussion.

As to social importance, a correlation between race and mean I.Q. (were this shown to exist) entails no social consequences except in a racist society in which each individual is assigned to a racial category and dealt with not as an individual in his own right, but as a representative of this category. Herrnstein mentions a possible correlation between height and I.Q. Of what social importance is that? None, of course, since our society does not suffer under discrimination by height. We do not insist on assigning each adult to the category "below six feet in height" or "above six feet in height" when we ask what sort of education he should receive or where he should live or what work he should do. Rather, he is what he is, quite independent of the mean I.Q. of people of his height category. In a nonracist society, the category of race would be of no greater significance. The mean I.Q. of individuals of a certain racial background is irrelevant to the situation of a particular individual, who is what he is. Recognizing this perfectly obvious fact, we are left with little, if any, plausible justification for an interest in the relation between mean I.Q. and race, apart from the "justification" provided by the existence of racial discrimination.

The question of heritability of I.Q. might conceivably have some social importance, say, with regard to educational practice. However, even this seems dubious, and one would like to see an argument. It is, incidentally, surprising to me that so many commentators should find it disturbing that I.Q. might be heritable, perhaps largely so. An advertisement in the *Harvard Crimson* (November 29, 1971), signed by many faculty members, refers to the "disturbing conclusion that 'intelligence' is largely genetic, so that over many, many years society might evolve into classes marked by distinctly different levels of ability." Since, as already noted, the conclusion does not follow from the premise, it may be that what disturbs the signers is the "conclusion that 'intelligence' is largely genetic." Why this should seem disturbing remains obscure. Would it also be disturbing to discover that relative height, or musical talent, or rank in running the 100 yard dash, is in part genetically determined? Why should one have preconceptions one way or another about these questions, and how do the answers to them, whatever they may be, relate either to serious scientific issues (in the present state of our knowledge) or to social practice, in a decent society?

* See the correspondence in the *Atlantic*, November, 1971.

Noam Chomsky's books include Syntactic Structures *(Humanities Press),* American Power and the New Mandarins *and* Problems of Knowledge and Freedom *(Pantheon).*

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This Land is Their Land

"Welfare *is* a problem for taxpayers—welfare for the rich. In a recent year 500 large growers in California's Imperial Valley received $12 million in farm subsidies—or $24,000 each. Meanwhile 10,000 poor, landless residents of the Valley received less than $8 million in welfare payments—or $800 each. George Thayer, a California almond grower, told the committee: 'I believe we have created the worst welfare system of all times—the welfare system for the corporate farm.' "

The wheat field is ten miles long. There's a machine — one colossal machine — harvesting the wheat, rumbling toward the setting sun on tracks which keep it from compacting the soil. A helicopter sprays pesticide on the adjacent soybean field. Another helicopter circles, scanning crop conditions, transmitting data to a computer. Two men sit in a bubble-topped control tower, watching the instrument panels which surround them. The lengthening shadows of three giant skyscrapers—skyscrapers filled with cattle—fall on the men. In these nearly fully-automated structures they (the cattle) are fed various chemicals, fattened, killed, processed, and packed into cylinders for shipment by monorail to the Cities, which are, presumably, where all the people are.

THIS IS A PICTURE OF THE AMERICAN farm in the year 2015, as sketched by U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) specialists. To them it is irresistably appealing: ten whole miles filled with great amber waves of grain. Yet the implications of their vision are chilling: environmental ruin, nutritional famine, wrenching social dislocation. Who will own this futuristic farm? What will be its economic and environmental costs, and who will pay them? The government's crystal-gazing agronomists cannot be relied upon for answers. But already, at every link in America's economic food chain, vast transformations are at work which provide some exceedingly disturbing clues. We can begin with an implausible assertion and a surprising fact.

by Larry Casalino

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"In California less than one tenth of one percent of the farms own 40 percent of the cropland. Tenneco also has vast landholdings in Arizona—altogether it controls a land area more than twice the size of Rhode Island."

(1) When we think of land reform, Asia and Latin America immediately come to mind. Things like the break-up of enormous "latifundistas" in steaming banana republics. Most of us think that such land reform is generally a good idea. But what most people would find pretty hard to believe is that the indispensable condition of sound agricultural development in America is land reform – right here in the fields of California, Mississippi, Maine. But consider this: (2) if you are the "average American," you eat a *less* nutritious diet today than you did ten years ago. (The Department of Agriculture admits this.) Only one-half of American families have "good" diets by USDA standards. How many more years of this kind of progress can we afford? The fact is our thinking about large-scale concentration in the economy of food has been dominated by the wrong agricultural cliche: it is not reaping the benefits of efficiency; it is sowing the seeds of disaster.

The general trend towards control of our food and land by a number of large "agri-business" corporations has received a certain amount of attention. But considering that the "food and fiber" industry is America's biggest business–accounting for almost a third of all private employment and nearly a fifth of the entire GNP–agri-business has managed to arouse very little interest and debate, much less serious opposition. Indeed the process of concentration has been so swift that there is remarkably little awareness of just how far it has already gone.

By 1958, the U.S. Food Marketing Commission classified 80 percent of the food industry as being under "oligopoly" control. Some samples: 95 percent of all prepared soups are sold by Campbell Soup, four corporations make 85 percent of American breakfast cereals.

On the farming end, in 1969 just 2 percent of U.S. farms made 30 percent of all farm sales, and 5 percent made more than half. One percent of U.S. feedlots now handle 52 percent of our beef, and 90 percent of all broiler chickens are bought up by five companies.

Food corporations continue to swallow up direct competitors, extending their "horizontal" expansion (as when one retail store is taken over by another, or a canner by a canner). But, even more significant, they are striving for "vertical integration," "total food systems" which encompass every step from farming through processing, distribution and retailing. And in recent years, huge conglomerates (like Greyhound, ITT and Tenneco) have been heavily diversifying into the food industry–particularly into farming.

Tenneco, roughly the 30th biggest U.S. industrial corporation, although a fairly new entry into agri-business, could be considered the vertically integrated food corporation *par excellence*, with its stated aim of controlling food production "from seedling to supermarket." In 1967 Tenneco acquired Kern County Land Company, California's third largest landowner. Three years later it took control of Heggblade-Marguleas, the nation's largest marketer of fresh fruits and vegetables. Tenneco also owns J. I. Case Co., which manufactures, among other things, farm machinery, and the Packaging Corporation of America, which manufactures food containers.

So Tenneco plows its own land, fertilized and sprayed with chemicals from its own chemical division, using its own tractors fueled with gas and oil from its own oil wells and refineries. The food is processed, packaged, and distributed by Tenneco subsidiaries. Tenneco is presently attempting to develop its own national brandname (Sun Giant) for produce, which it intends to sell at "premium prices." Tenneco doesn't have its own supermarket chain yet. Unlike traditional farmers, when Tenneco needs capital it can look to its other operations for help: Tenneco is also busy searching out oil off the coast of Southeast Asia and is the world's largest transporter of natural gas, building two nuclear-powered aircraft carriers.

Most Americans are not farmers, and probably never get much closer to the source of the food they eat than the deep freeze department at the supermarket. So for them, if agriculture has been replaced by agri-business, what real harm is done?

To begin with, there is the habit agri-business has of slipping poison into one's dinner. As we now know, much of the food these corporations supply has had much of the taste and nutritional value processed out, and has become a witches' brew of potentially harmful chemicals which have been processed in. So that many people find shopping in the supermarket a queasy balancing act, selecting the least deleterious diet they can from alternatives that range from U.S. meat, already banned as unsafe in twenty-one more scrupulous countries, to "fresh" fruits and vegetables which are picked before ripe, then waxed, gassed and injected with implausibly vivid dyes.

Highly processed foods are the hard-sell specialties of the agri-corporations. The use of chemical food additives, part and parcel of the rise of agri-business, has risen from a minor phenomenon thirty years ago to become a $500 million a year business in its own right. It is hardly a secret that, as one marketing spokesman enthused, "The profit margin on food additives is fantastically good–much better than the profit margin on basic traditional foods." Every reader of Sylvia Porter or *Consumer Reports* knows that the more intensively processed, synthesized and "convenienced" a food, the more exorbitant its price. But processed foods are not only a source of profit to their parent companies; today's giant food corporations simply *could not exist* without them.

Wonder Bread may not be the best for you—although you can store it forever, mail it to a friend, squeeze it 'til you can hold a loaf in your fist – but it sure is convenient for IT&T, which owns Continental Baking. It is the heavy doses of chemical additives that opened the

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way for a handful of powerful corporations to centralize control of food markets in the United States. Chemicals make it possible to stabilize color, texture and other illusions of freshness during the extended storage and transport involved in wide regional and national distribution. Previously food markets had been localized and fragmented by the very nature of the simpler farm-to-table foods. Besides being perishable, they were undistinctive, unpatentable, effectively unbrandable. They provided no basis for the packaging, distribution and promotion involved in national market exploitation.

Along with additives, agri-business has brought an upsurge in pesticide use, which has more than doubled since Rachel Carson's *The Silent Spring* was published in 1962. Large agricultural corporations (which often have their own holdings in the farm chemical business) are totally geared to large-scale farming methods that depend on disproportionately larger amounts of pesticides and inorganic fertilizers. They are firmly locked into the familiar vicious circle: extensive use of monoculture (using a field to grow a single crop without rotation), pesticides, and inorganic fertilizers, which together have increased the variety and resistance of pests and impaired the quality of the soil, so that ever greater amounts of even more toxic and costly chemicals are soaked into the land. Agri-business corporations decidedly are uninterested in alternatives like organic fertilizer and biological control of pests. And they are in a position to make their lack of interest count. As a National Agricultural Chemicals Association spokesman candidly points out: "There really is not much biological control in industry research; they would research themselves right out of the market."

Among the many social costs of agri-business concentration is its effect on the prices people pay for food. In areas such as breakfast cereals where concentration is far advanced, its inflationary effect is already very clear. And continued growth of agri-business concentrations sets the stage for inflated prices throughout the industry in the future, when the market will be dominated by sufficiently few "competitors" to make possible what is euphemistically called "administered pricing"—in other words the kind of price fixing, both tacit and conspiratorial, that has long prevailed in other highly concentrated industries.

But the question of food prices is problematic in other ways. For instance, when people switch to high-priced processed foods which are often made from cheap imitation ingredients (soy protein for meat or milk), are they paying more for their food or getting more for their money? A large part of what we pay for food goes for such things as advertising, which is neither edible nor convenient. In fact, the food industry spends more on advertising and less on research than any other industry in America. Betsy Wood, of the Consumers Cooperative of Berkeley, estimates that consumers pay 15-25 percent more for national brand names—an average family would save $200 a year buying local labels. Are the taxes we pay that go to finance agri-business (in the form of subsidies, credits and special allowances) part of the price we pay for food? And when you consider the poisoning of our bodies and our environment, or the brutal exploitation of farm workers, it's even more difficult to count the cost.

"Large agricultural corporations are locked into a vicious circle . . . which has increased the variety and resistance of pests and . . . has caused greater amounts of toxic chemicals to be soaked into the land."

The most direct cost of agri-business power is that it prospers at the ruinous expense of the great mass of American farmers. For them the situation is desperate. Half the farms in America had gone out of business by World War II, and shutdowns continue at a rate of 2000 farms a week. The Department of Agriculture admits that the number of American farms remaining by 1980 may be reduced to less than a tenth of what it is today.

IT MIGHT SEEM REASONABLE TO conclude that the ability of agri-business to overwhelm the smaller traditional farmer demonstrates the superior efficiency of its large-scale, integrated mode of operation, and that we are seeing an outmoded economic unit, no longer able to compete, replaced by a more advanced form of organization. Thus, we might sympathize with those who are displaced and perhaps attempt to soften the blow, but to try to turn back the clock would be merely sentimental and quixotic.

At any rate this is what agri-business would like us to believe. In reality the big corporations have not prevailed by their farming competence which is dubious at best. What has happened is that agri-business, being more efficient at farming the American people than at farming the soil, has been able to draw upon a fascinating array of lucrative subsidies, which the smaller traditional farmer did not enjoy, and against which he has been unable to compete.

At least five major subsidies have combined over the years to give its economic edge:

THE CROP SUBSIDY

In January this year Senator Adlai Stevenson III's Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor conducted three days of hearings in San Francisco and Fresno. Over and over the Senator heard the same basic complaint: "My government taxes me to the extent of confiscation to subsidize and create favorable conditions for vertically integrated corporations," said Gus Stamenson, for 26 years a grower of almonds and walnuts on 40 California acres. "Give me a $4 million dollar subsidy and I'll be the most efficient farmer west of the Mississippi."

Ronald Reagan, Richard Nixon, and other politicians throughout the country have been very successful in persuading people that welfare is a major problem. They never mention the fact that federal crop subsidy programs cost the taxpayers more than all federal, state, and local

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welfare programs combined. In 1970 Tenneco received crop subsidies of over a million dollars. California's J. G. Boswell, one of the world's largest cotton growers, received $5 million.

Welfare *is* a problem for taxpayers—welfare for the rich. In a recent year 500 large growers in California's Imperial Valley received $12 million in farm subsidies—or $24,000 each. Meanwhile 10,000 poor, landless residents of the Valley received less than $8 million in welfare payments—or $800 each. George Thayer, a California almond grower, told Stevenson's committee: "I believe we have created the worst welfare system of all times—the welfare system for the corporate farm."

THE WATER SUBSIDY

Last summer the Ralph Nader-originated Center for the Study of Responsive Law published a massive, thousand page study titled *Power and Land in California.* The study blasted the California State Water Project as "possibly the largest special interest boondoggle in history." It claims that, when finished, the project will have cost roughly ten *billion* dollars—$500 for every man, woman, and child in California. Yet economists estimate that the project will return only 50 cents of benefit for every dollar it costs!

Why build such an economically irrational project? Well, some folks do benefit from it a great deal—large landowners, large water-using industries, and developers. A 1959 study by the California Labor Federation reported that eleven landowners including Southern Pacific, Tenneco, and Standard Oil owned 33 percent of the land to be irrigated by the project. Southern Pacific and Tejon Ranch were the biggest donors to the successful 1960 campaign to persuade California voters to approve a bond issue to finance the project. And Bank of America is the biggest holder of the bonds.

The water is a speculator's dream. It raises land values by at least $300 an acre. So, if you own 20,000 acres, your land is suddenly worth $6 million more than it was before California citizens built a water project for you. And the taxpayers pay about half the cost of the water, so you can irrigate your crops much more cheaply.

Agri-business could have tried getting irrigation water even cheaper by pressing for a comparable federal water plan. They were deterred from that route because there's a catch—the federal 160-acre limitation.

This law would go far toward breaking up the large corporate landholdings. But the law has, from the beginning, been flagrantly violated. Jack Henning of the California AFL-CIO estimates, on the basis of his organization's research, that 900,000 California acres held by owners who own over 160 acres are receiving water from the federal Bureau of Reclamation. Among these owners are the old familiar names—Tenneco, Southern Pacific, Standard Oil.

THE RESEARCH SUBSIDY

The University of California's Agricultural Extension Service was originally founded to provide easily available local technical assistance to small farmers. Late in 1971 David Talamante of the Tri-County Economic Development Association approached his local Extension "Service" for assistance for a Chicano cooperative which grows strawberries in greenhouses. Talamante was laughed at and told: "If you want to do that kind of farming, why don't you go to Guam?"

This attitude is typical. Nearly all of the more than $20 *million* a year of state and federal tax dollars spent by the University of California on agricultural research are aimed at aiding the biggest farms. Some of the University's most brilliant inventions have been machines, like the tomato harvester, which allow corporate farms to dispense with troublesome farm workers. In the bitter grape strike of the late sixties, the University came to the growers' assistance during pruning season and allowed them to use a pneumatic pruning machine it had under development.

The situation is simple: we pay the University of California for technological development deliberately skewed in favor of large corporate farms. Then we are told that it is technology that makes corporate takeover of agriculture inevitable.

THE LABOR SUBSIDY

American Indians were the first to toil as farmworkers in the fields of California. They were followed by Chinese (who were 90 percent of farmworkers in the 1870s), Japanese, Filipinos, and, today, Chicanos. Jack Hanna, one of the developers of the tomato harvester, observed: "I'd seen nationality after nationality in the fields, and I felt that someday we might run out of nationalities to do our hard work."

Farmworkers, who have fed us for many years, are the least protected of all workers by federal and state labor laws. They have no protected organizing rights, and cannot insist on union representation elections or collective bargaining. The government has actively intervened to obstruct the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee's attempts to organize farmworkers. For instance, the Defense Department more than tripled its purchases of lettuce from Dow Chemical subsidiary Bud Antle during the UFWOC lettuce boycott.

Thus the government helps to provide big farmers with a cheap, easily exploitable labor force. Seven percent of California farms hire 75 percent of the state's farm labor. The larger the farm, the more labor the farmer can exploit, thus cutting costs of production and raising profits. The small farmer has no one to exploit but himself, in competition with $1.50 an hour wages paid to many farm laborers. And taxpayers pay the welfare costs of keeping farm laborers alive between seasons of peak work.

THE TAX SUBSIDY

There are numerous tax breaks in the IRS cookie jar that may be of benefit to any knowledgeable farmer. The important edge obtained by diversified corporate farmers comes from a number of special tax breaks that enable money expended in farming operations to cancel out substantial amounts of otherwise taxable profits from an owner's *non-farming* operations. Since the old-fashioned farmer doesn't have any significant non-farming profits, this is of no use to him. But to agri-business companies, which operate in many non-farming industries, this kind of tax shelter has proved extremely lucrative.

In the past couple of years reform moves have been made to curtail the special tax breaks (as well as the in-

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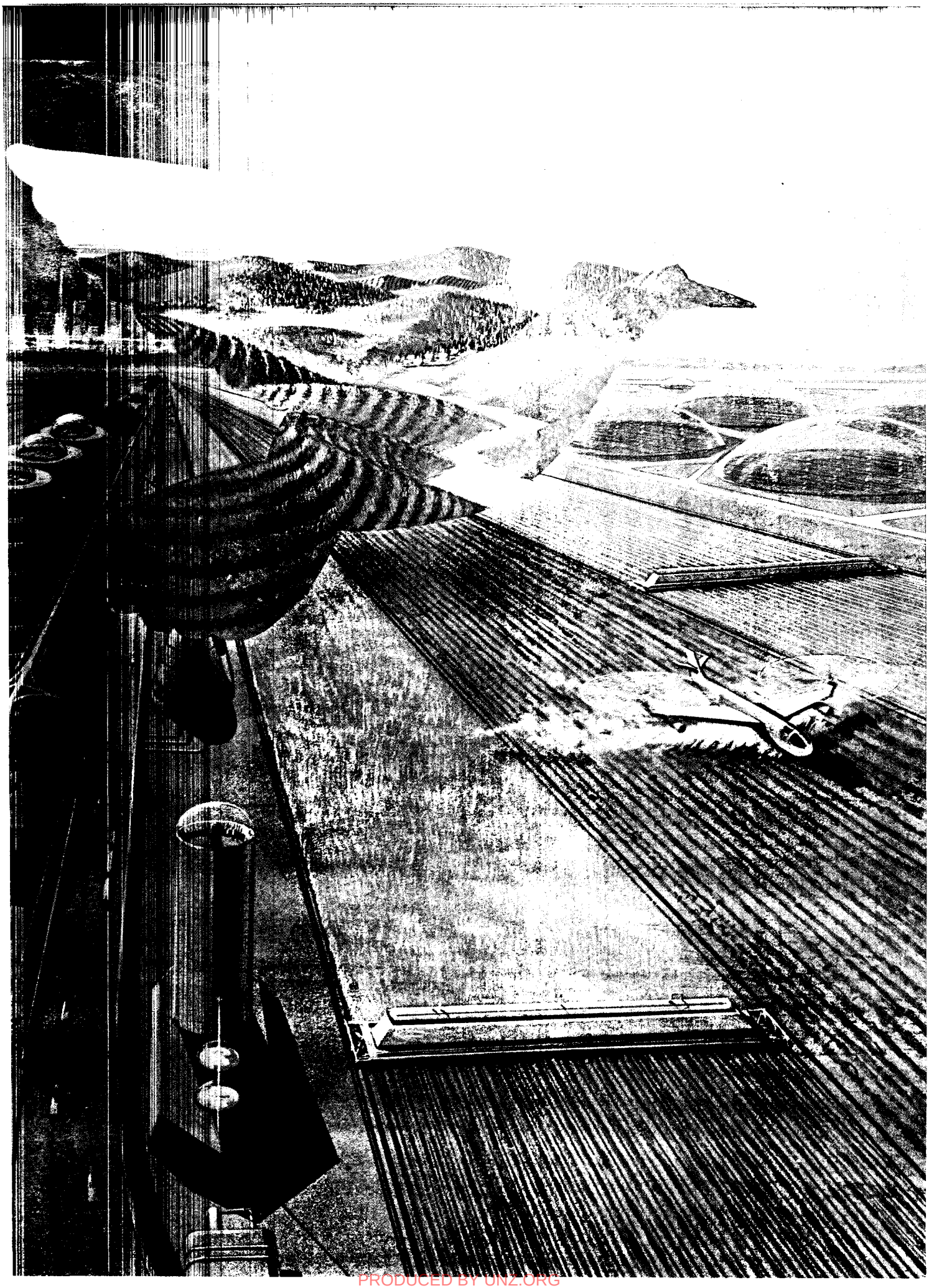

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equities) in the crop subsidy program. But corporate ingenuity has found ample loopholes remaining in both these areas through which to make its way. There is little evidence that they have suffered much more from these reforms than the inconvenience of devious legal maneuvers.

[THE MYTH OF AGRI-BUSINESS EFFICIENCY]

THE FACT IS, GIANT FARMS are *not* more efficient than small farms, even in a strictly economic sense. The government's own studies conclude that all of the economics of size can be achieved by modern, fully mechanized, one- or two-person farms ranging from 100 to 600 or sometimes to 1000 acres, depending on the crop (see Ag. E. Report No. 107, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture). It's worth remembering that "inefficient" family farms have been producing national food surpluses for decades.

Concern for small farms is not nostalgia for the past – it makes economic, political, social, and ecological sense. We have been taught to assume without thinking that big and powerful equals efficient and good. The demise of small farms has profound effects on both urban and rural America. As 2000 farm families a week leave their land, local businesses, schools, and community groups shut down. More people crowd into the cities (75 percent of Americans now live on 2 percent of the land), where they will be dependent on big agri-business corporations for their food (and possibly for their jobs, housing, etc.). As large landholdings replace family farms, and the cities become even more crowded, rural communities turn into company towns. A 1944 study by anthropologist Walter Goldschmidt compared two farm communities in California's San Joaquin Valley, Arvin and Dinuba. Arvin was characterized by large landholdings, Dinuba by family farms. The differences are striking: The majority of workers in Dinuba were self-employed, while two-thirds of the workers in Arvin were agricultural wage laborers. Dinuba supported twice as many independent businesses and did 61 percent more retail business. Dinuba had many more parks, schools, and community groups, as well as more institutions for local political decision-making.

Goldschmidt originally planned to extend his research to include all farm communities in the San Joaquin Valley, but a vigorous campaign, spearheaded by the powerful Associated Farmers, forced him to discontinue his work. To this day, no follow-up study has been done – it's difficult to get research funds to look into the American power structure. But it seems likely that comparable study today would yield even more striking results.

In California, by far the nation's leading agricultural state, less than one tenth of one percent of the farms own roughly 40 percent of the cropland. Tenneco and Standard Oil each own over 300,000 acres of California land–much of it agricultural. Tenneco also has vast landholdings in Arizona–altogether it controls a land area more than twice the size of Rhode Island (it actually *advertises* this in its annual report).

Southern Pacific is California's biggest landowner with 2.4 million acres, about 150,000 agricultural (originally given to it free by the government to build a railroad). Other big California "farmers" include the 348,000 Tejon Ranch (with a big interest held by the *L.A. Times-Mirror*) and Kaiser with 111,000 acres. In the early 1940s California's largest agricultural landholder with over 600,000 acres was the Bank of America, which had foreclosed on a farm a day during the preceding depression years. Today the Bank of America, the world's largest agricultural lender, works closely with big corporate farmers while frequently refusing loans to small farms, thus giving another non-agricultural impetus to corporate control of the land.

California is only the most important example of the need for land reform in the United States. The situation varies somewhat from region to region – in the deep South landholdings are highly concentrated, in Maine 12 corporations own 52 percent of the land, in the Midwest things are not yet quite as bad. But everywhere the pattern is the same: land, whether agricultural, timber, urban, is increasingly controlled by big corporate interests.

[LAND REFORM IN AMERICA]

THE KIND OF CONCENTRATED control of such basic resources as food and land vastly increases the power of a few corporations over the lives of millions of people. Most of us are alienated from the land–unlike most people who have ever lived, we've pretty much forgotten about it. But there is no more basic resource, none that on as many levels–physical, social, and spiritual–so critically determines the dimensions of human life. And the corporations own it.

Land reform does not just mean a return to small farms. It means a radical restructuring of society. Corporate control of land helps force people into the cities and keep them there. Think for a moment about the vast changes in U.S. society if 75 percent of the people did *not* live on 2 percent of the land–you begin to get an idea of the profound implications of land reform. A certain traditional might suggest that the alternative to the USDA farm of 2015 is for "the people" to "take control" of the same ten mile wheat field and the skyscraper cattle factories. But the people can never control such things, which inherently centralize power and which point to a world of Super Cities worse than we have today. Ultimately, land reform should not just mean opening the land up for people who want to farm, but opening it up for everyone, for communities of farmers *and* carpenters, poets, printers, teachers, tailors, plumbers, jacks-of-all-trades. It should mean a decentralized society, in which the countryside is an attractive, healthy place where people live and work, where people are able to obtain and make use of simple, durable tools and machines, and build regionally a substantial self-sufficiency and independence. If we are really serious about having a direct say in decisions which affect our lives, we will first have to take the basic organization of our society out of the skyscrapers and bring it down to earth.

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The Open Schoolroom: New Words for Old Deceptions

"The teacher who does not speak to grief, who cannot cry for shame, who does not laugh and will not weep, teaches many very deep and memorable lessons about tears, laughter, grief and shame. . . . The secret curriculum is the teacher's own lived values and convictions in the lineaments of his expression and in the biography of passion or self-exile that is written in his eyes. A teacher who appears to his children to be anesthetized, sedated, in the face of human pain . . . may not teach children anything at all about medical racism, birth mortality or My Lai, but he will be teaching a great deal about the capability of an acceptable North American adult to abdicate the consequences of his own perception and, as it were, to vacate his own soul."

IN THE PAST TWO YEARS THERE HAS BEEN a massive media campaign to popularize the idea of a painless revolution in the U.S. public schools via something known as "open-structured education." The enthusiastic reception which this notion has received in liberal circles, above all in the upper-class schools which wish to have an innovative and attractive image, suggests the desperation that is felt by those who recognize incipient stirrings of an insurrectionary nature in the consciousness of children and young teachers. It is not possible to leave such stirrings undomesticated. Ethical strivings in the consciousness of youth constitute a solemn danger to an unjust nation. The public school, as the custodian of youth, can not allow this kind of ferment to go unrecognized and unconstrained.

All governments and administrative hierarchies will, if they are skillful and astute, find a means to undermine any danger they find themselves in. In other societies, less skilled and practiced than our own, the only methods known are often those of frank repression. In this society, two decades of experience in counter-revolutionary tactics have educated the kinds of men who handle power in the best of ways for neutralizing and de-fusing controversy. Napalm and high-flying aircraft may in certain cases be acceptable for use in foreign nations, but not in our own. Such methods run directly counter to the pretense of unmanaged intellection and of unmanacled expression of ideas that our society is built upon. It is only in emergencies, then, or in the context of those sections of the population where our instincts of abhorrence are abated somewhat by the sense of biological discrimination, that methods of this kind will be employed.

In most cases, what we do in public schools in the United States today is not to suppress but to buy out the revolutionary instincts of our children. We offer them "independent research," "individualized learning," open-structured education," "non-directive class-discussions." Each child, in the standard code-word of the fashion, learns "at his own

by Jonathan Kozol

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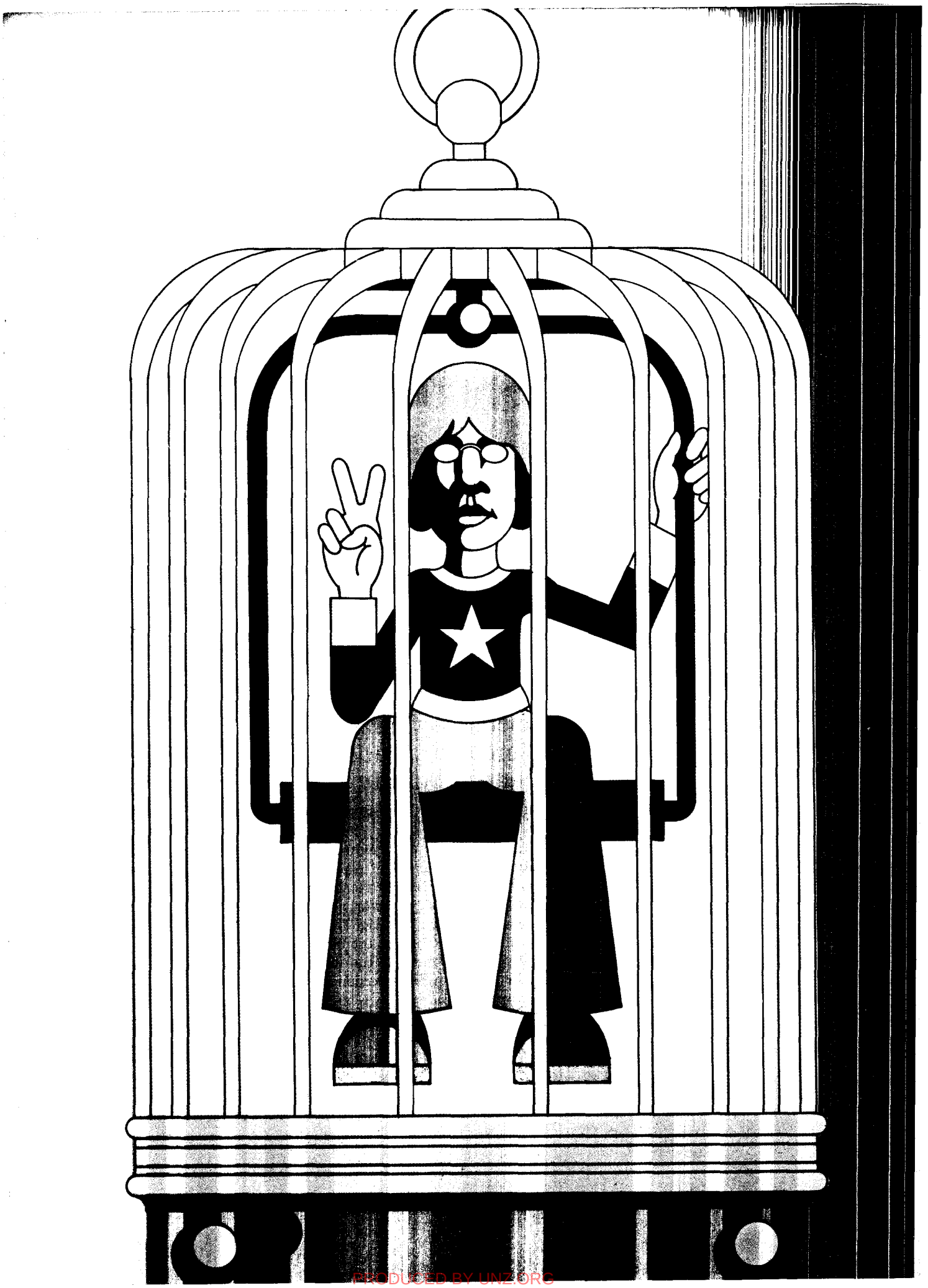

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pace." Teachers are present not as educators but as "resource-people." The children "do their own thing." Everybody "tells it like it is" and tells other people "where it's at . . . ." It is all fashionable, fun and "innovative" . . . It is intelligently marketed and publicized. It is remarkably well-packaged.

It would, of course, be careless and inaccurate on my part to indicate that all of these innovations constitute overt or even indirect deception. It would also be inaccurate to suggest that they do not make *some* things different, and some situations less manipulative and less painfully oppressive than they were before. There is unquestionably a lower level of direct indoctrination and direct manipulation of a child's thinking now than in the old-time classroom. A number of things are much more fun, and there is far less of the sense of lockstep-motion and of inevitable non-stop perseverance than before. These are real differences and to a small degree they represent a lessening of the sense of desperation and of straight-line perseverance which enslave and paralyze so many children in the course of twelve years of sequential labor in the more traditional classrooms of the old-time schools.

It is my belief, however, that these changes do not seriously undermine the overriding purposes and operations of a public school, but have at best the function of adorning servitude with momentary flashes of delight and secondary avenues of unimportant deviation. At no point do these kinds of changes touch upon the basic anesthetic character of public school, its anti-ethical function, its chauvinistic fealties, its inculcation of the sense of vested interest in credentialized reward, its clever perpetration of a sense of heightened options in a closed and tightly circumscribed arena. At no point is there honest confrontation with the mandate of a man's or of a woman's, sense of justice. At no point is there actual, concrete, vivid provocation of that sense of justice. This sentence is the one, for me, which sums up all the rest: children are not free in any way that matters if they are not free to know the price in pain and exploitation that their lives are built upon. Stated differently, just children cannot be educated in an unjust school. A school which constitutes an island of self-etherized and of self-serving privilege within a land of pain is not a just school, whatever the games the school board authorizes, whatever the innovative slogans it may ply.

[A KIND OF DMZ]

THE NOTION OF THE "OPEN-STRUCTURED" school most often involves four or five associated notions, all of them wholly or in part erroneous: (1) that a proper and effective answer to the injustice and to the devastation of the time in which we live is constituted by an individual and self-directed search for Love and Satisfaction; (2) that the child who "freely" chooses one out of the fifty things selected in advance by teacher, School Board, EDC or IBM should be persuaded to believe that he is really "doing his own thing," that he is "exercising freedom"; (3) that we can, or ever do, "spontaneously" go from BEING GOOD AND LOVING to our (nearby) friends to BEING GOOD AND LOVING to our (distant) victims, especially if we have no means of finding out they *are* our victims or have no words or concepts to articulate this kind of truth; (4) that in face of pain, in face of hunger, in face of misery on every side, each man has the right to tend to his own needs, and to advance his own enlightenment, reward, self-interest, postponing into an indeterminate and into an unknown future the time at which he worries about those whom he does not see; (5) that a major change in the relationships between rich men and poor can ever come about without a solemn confrontation of some form. Stated differently, it is the notion that is now so much a part of North American mythology concerning progress: the fantasy that we can ever get real goods without authentic payment, that anything that matters ever come scot-free.

It is upon this basis, I believe, that the whole notion of the open-structured class must finally depend. To the teacher, most of all, it carries the consoling message that there is no solemn need to stand up and take sides: "We do not sustain; we do not subvert; we just stroll pleasantly through the class with an inductive glow and, now and then, we stop and smile. . . ." If there is a single phrase to summarize this notion, it is one like this: No one (even a committed man or woman) needs to take sides. No one needs to put his or her body on the line. The classroom does not need to be a counterfoil; it is sufficient if it constitutes a kind of island or a kind of DMZ.

The virtue of the "open-structured" classroom and of the so-called "non-directive" teacher, from the point of view of the society at large, is clear and quite straightforward. If it does not constitute overt cooperation with the ideological wishes of the state, at least it stops one step this side of open and direct rebellion. Battles can be fought on all sides of a DMZ: there is no danger here of rear-guard actions.

From the point of view of social change, or educational upheaval, open-structured education is less easily defended. For this statement I would like to offer two related arguments: one in relation to the teacher's role as a neutral or non-neutral force; the other in regard to the surrounding context.

First, in regard to the surrounding context, the point, I think, needs to be made that "neutral education" or a "neutral classroom"—or a classroom "open," as it were, to winds of truth and falsehood in the world outside—has little meaning in a managed framework of controlled ideas and preference-manufacture such as that which the industrial success of the United States now totally depends upon. There is a great deal more at stake within the school, and in the context of that school, than words and deeds of individual teachers. The physical structure, previous history, sequential character and complex interlock of school itself convey a body of explicit or implied directions, mandates, and requests. The "medium," as it were, of "school and schoolyear" carries with it an overriding and important message, regardless of what may be conveyed by words and textbooks. The message is largely one of dull, benevolent and untumultuous assurance. It is the message of a world which has been built, not like TV and other public media, on active lies, but on discreet negations. Strong colors, deep emotions, soaring passions are left out, and, in the leaving out, a fradulent image of the world is perpetrated.

The overall picture is a little like the message flamboyant

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preachers used to call "The Good News." The good news of school, in essence, is the news that life is nice, that people are okay, that poverty is unreal or, if real, then fortunately unrealizable in the young imagination. Whatever the individual teacher does or does not say, all of the rest of this will still be present in the air around us, in the other classrooms, in the previous and succeeding years of school, as well as in the simple, physical persuasion of the architecture and of the flag outside the building. There is also, of course, the body of manipulated views and managed wants and manufactured aspirations that come with every child into this school-building from the outside world. These biases and aspirations, views and yearnings, for the greater part, come from TV and radio, daily press and picture magazines, as well as from one another, older friends, and older brother, sister, father, mother: in short, from all of those people who have been already muted and contained, modulated, styled, quieted, by their own prior course of mandatory public school indoctrination.

It seems to me that "neutral" education, in a time like this and in a land like ours, is less than honest, and less than "neutral" too, if we already recognize too well the presence of a uniform body of controlled and managed stimuli and viewpoints. The notion of the "neutral classroom" and of the "non-directive" teacher depends upon the prior existence of a neutral field, or at least a neutral pocket of unmanipulated and unmanaged intellection. To believe in this (and it is a gentle and appealing notion) is to believe in children who have lived their lives within a sweet and unplowed meadow. But we know very well our children do not live in a sweet meadow: they live in a mine-field crossed by electronic beams and planted with high-voltage speakers. To play the game of "non-directive educator" in this context is perhaps to fill a more attractive and less openly manipulative role than that of conscious salesman or saleswoman for a weary catalogue of patriotic notions. It is, moreover, a less demeaning role in that at least it frees the teacher from the obligation to say things which he or she, in fact, does not believe. Only in this sense does it represent a less debilitating posture, in that it represents a lower level of direct deception. It is deception, nonetheless.

The myth, the wishful thinking or the amiable deception, that lies beneath the notion of the open-structured classroom is the imagined "authenticity," the "spontaneity," and the "autonomy" of the child's intellectual initiatives. "Elicit the wishes, questions and directions from the child, unimpeded and unhindered and without much adult interference." But what is the meaning of a statement of this kind if we know very well that we, and all our children with us, are living in a closed kingdom of confined and narrow options, guided stimuli and calculated access to alternative ideas? A child does not spontaneously "ask" to learn of things that he has not first been allowed to hear of, nor does he innocently ask to learn what he has been already trained to view as inappropriate or awkward or unpopular or dangerous, or morally contaminated.

For the teacher to acquiesce in recognitions of this kind, to silence her own convictions, sit down on the floor, smile her inductive smile and await the appearance of "spontaneous desires" on the part of children, may look to us, or to a uninformed observer, to be open and unbiased, "innovative," "honest," and relaxed. It may be innovative, but it is not open. There is a deep and powerful area of self-deception working here: one that attempts to tell us that the child's offerings are *really free*. The vested interest that we hold in this belief is in direct accord with the more powerful vested interest of our faith in our own freedom. The insistence of these notions in the face of all that we have read and comprehended and believed is index of the threat we feel when faced with the reality of our oppressed condition. It is similar to the way a patient feels in psychotherapy at times of imminent, but endangering insight.

It may well be that there was once a time, ages ago, in some other land or even in our own, when thoughts were free and wants were largely self-created. Today, whatever we wish to say, we know it is not so. The wants of the young, like those of their elders, are relentlessly controlled. "It is the essence of planning," Galbraith has said, "that public behavior should be made predictable. . . . The management to which we are subject is not onerous. It works not on the body but on the mind. It first wins acquiescence or belief: action is in response to this . . . conditioning and thus devoid of any sense of compulsion. It is open to anyone who can to contract out of this control. But we are no less managed because we are not physically compelled."

The foregoing deals with what I call the "field," or context of ideas, in which the classroom stands. There is also, however, an additional question about the teacher's role and function. In the long run there is, and can be, no such thing as an unbiased education or a neutral teacher. No teacher, no matter what he does or does not do, can fail in certain ways to advertise his bias to the children in his care—even if it is only by the very vivid lesson of avoiding a field fraught with ethical significance and with the possibilities for moral indignation. What the teacher "teaches," after all, is not only in what he says but at least in part in what he is, in what he does, in what he seems to wish to be. In the classroom, the things a teacher does not wish to say may well provide a deeper and more dangerous and more abiding lesson than the content of the textbooks or the conscious message of the posters on the wall. The teacher who does not speak to grief, who cannot cry for shame, who does not laugh and will not weep, teaches many very deep and memorable lessons about tears, laughter, grief *and* shame. When war is raging, and when millions of black people in our land are going through a private and communal Hell, no teacher, no matter what he does or does not do, can fail to influence his pupils in some fashion. The secret curriculum is the teacher's own lived values and convictions in the lineaments of his expression and in the biography of passion or self-exile that is written in his eyes. A teacher who appears to his children to be anesthetized, sedated, in the face of human pain, of medical racism, black infant-birth, or something so horrible and so quintessentially evil as the massacre at My Lai, may not teach children anything at all about medical racism, birth mortality or My Lai, but he will be teaching a great deal about the capability of an acceptable and respectably situated North American adult to abdicate the consequences of his own perception and, as it were, to vacate his own soul. By denying his convictions in the course of class-discussion, he does not each *nothing:* he teaches *something*. He teaches,

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at the very least, a precedent for non-conviction. For these reasons, then, apart from all the others, it seems apparent that a teacher cannot, no matter what he does or does not do, maintain a neutral posture in the eyes of children. It is just not possible for us to disaffiliate entirely from the blood and the stench of the times in which we live.

[NEW WINE, OLD BOTTLES]

"THE SOCIAL WORKER," FREIRE HAS written, "has a moment of decision. Either he picks the side of change . . . or he is left in the position of favoring stagnation." The open-structured classroom is a means by which the teacher is enabled to imagine that he does not need to choose. In truth, he chooses (for non-direction, non-participation, fashionable non-intervention) but he does not wish to tell himself that he has made this choice. Most teachers who have been in situations of this kind are well aware of the co-optive nature of the process in which they have come to be involved. Most of these teachers, for example, understand and can predict extremely well the kinds of things their pupils will select when they are "freely choosing" areas of study. They know very well the kinds of things they will "conclude" when they are working on their "independent research." They write down in advance, on Sunday afternoon, in lesson-books, the things their children will "discover" Wednesday morning in "small-group discussion." The open-structured classroom may be "child-centered," but it is also "teacher-written," "IBM-predicted," "School Board-overseen." Nobody ever really discovers anything within the confines of a well-run public school in the United States which someone somewhere does not give him license, sanction and permission to discover. It is just a better form of salesmanship than we have ever used before. In olden days we had to *tell* the children what to think, handing them, as it were, the bottle and the spoon. Today, we lead them, by a pretense of free inquiry, to ask for it themselves. It is the same old bottle.

Teachers in open-structured situations speak of matters of this kind with one another frequently: they do not say the same things to the children. There is a way, for instance, known to many teachers in the open-structured situation, of opening up a controversial issue with the children in the classroom, in a manner that seems unmanaged, conscientious, honest, open-minded, and leaves us later on with a sense of having "faced the issue," and yet in which the odds were really set before we started and the purpose all along was not to meet a powerful issue but only, as it were, to tell ourselves we had. This is the way in which most dangerous ideas are now de-fused in innovative classrooms. Teachers pretend to open up an issue when what they really do is close it more emphatically than it has ever been closed before. The teacher who encourages this sense of artificial confrontation with a painful issue is denying more to the pupil than a teacher who avoids the issue altogether; for the latter, whether he knows it or not, has left at least the possibility that the pupil, in rebellion, will search out the forbidden area at a later time and find something in it to enrich or challenge him. But the pupil who has had the false sense of meeting the issue in a classroom that was stacked against it has seen the issue sterilized forever.

ALL OF THE POINTS THAT I HAVE been trying to make come down at last to one important, over-riding and intensely unattractive bit of truth: In an unjust nation, the children of the ruling-classes are not free in any way that matters if they are not free to know the price of pain and exploitation that their lives are built upon. This is a freedom that no public school in the United States can willingly give children. Businessmen are not in business to lose customers; public schools do not exist to free their clients from the agencies of mass-persuasion. "Innovative schools" with "open-structured" classrooms speak often about "relevant learning-processes" and "urban-oriented studies," but the first free action of such a class of honest children in an unmanipulated, genuinely open classroom in a segregated school within an all-white suburb, would be to walk out of class, blockade the doors and shut down the school building. School serves the state; the interest of the state is identified for reasons of survival, with the interests of industrial dominion. The school exists to turn out manageable workers, obedient consumers, manipulable voters and, if need be, willing killers. It does not require the attribution of sinister motives, but only of the bare survival instincts, to know that a monolithic complex of industrial, political and academic interests of this kind does not intend to build the kinds of schools which will empower pint-sized zealots to expropriate their interests. It is in the light of considerations such as these that all innovations, all liberal reforms, all so-called "modern" methods and all new technologies ought to be scrutinized: Do they exist to free consumers, to liberate citizens, to inspire disagreement, inquiry, dissent? Or do they exist instead to quiet controversy, to contain rebellion and to channel inquiry into accepted avenues of discreet moderation? Is it conceivable that public schools can serve at once the function of indoctrinating agent and the function of invigorating counterfoil? I find this quite improbable and view with reservations of the deepest kind such genteel changes as may appear to offer broader liberties to captive children.

The only forms of educational innovation that are serious and worth consideration in this nation in the year of 1972 are those which constitute direct rebellion, explicit confrontation or totally independent ventures, such as networks, storefronts, Free Schools and the like, which stand entirely outside of the public system and which at all times labor to perform the function of provocateur and counterfoil. The *New York Times* can tell us what it likes of "open-structured education." The Carnegie Foundation can pay its parasitic program officers what it wishes to propagate the notion of "alternatives within the system." There are no such alternatives so long as the system is itself the primary vehicle of state control.

It is time to raise the stakes and open up our minds. It is time to look with deepened insight and scepticism on the innovative cliché and the high-priced pacification of the open-structured school: *There is a price to be paid, and a struggle of inordinate dimensions to be undertaken.* There is no way in which a serious man or honorable woman can escape the implications and the dangers of this statement.

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SIHANOUK *(From Page 23)*
Sino-Soviet relations.) But what can we do? We are very satisfied that China respects our sovereignty and our way of thinking. But we would like to have both of the major socialist countries with us,

Premier Kosygin was very emphatic that I should prevent Lon Nol and Sirik Matak from stabbing the NLF in the back. We in fact had done our best by tackling the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak coalition, the Saigon forces, and the American Air Force without outside help. What more could he ask? And who is stabbing whom in the back at present? Lon Nol-Sirik Matak never stopped their betrayal of the NLF, but nonetheless the Soviet Union rewards them. Not only do the Soviets keep an Embassy in Phnom Penh and maintain diplomatic relations with the traitor regime, but they send medicine and surgical equipment to patch up the troops of Lon Nol, allowing those we have put out of action to attack us once more. In October 1971, the Soviet Union renewed a financial agreement with the Lon Nol regime, the regime which Premier Kosygin had assured me he would "never forgive." I am now, in 1972, aligned with the NLF; our troops fight side by side, so things have turned out contrary to Premier Kosygin's promises and predictions made to me in Moscow.

How much worthier it would have been of a great socialist country to act as did Raoul Roa, the foreign minister of Cuba. On March 18, the Cambodian ambassador to Havana asked to be received by him, and was greeted as a friend:

"You're going to fight on the side of Prince Sihanouk?" asked the Cuban foreign minister.

"No. He's been thrown out of office, and everyone is for Lon Nol."

"Get out," said Roa. "Don't soil my chair any longer. I give you twenty-four hours to quit Havana. You are not only a traitor to Sihanouk, but a disgrace to your people. No—I won't shake your hand. I'm only sorry that I shook it when you came in."

Soviet officials in Pyongyang told the North Korean Foreign Ministry that it was a "mistake" to withdraw their diplomats from Phnom Penh: "Once you withdraw, it will be difficult to get back." This was reported to Premier Kim Il Sung, and his reaction was: "Better to leave a Cambodia without Sihanouk than to remain in a Cambodia with Lon Nol."

The question which interested everyone—not the least, myself—was how this coup could have been organized, and what were the essential elements involved? A full and accurate reply would be of far-reaching importance, not only to Cambodia, but by pointing a warning finger to the future for leaders who would dare to defend their country's independence and national dignity against internal and external foes, whatever their origin.

My first reaction to the events immediately preceding the March 18 coup—and to the coup itself—was to see the hand of the CIA at work. In a TV interview in Paris on March 14 and again immediately after my arrival in Peking, I made declarations to this effect. Obviously, I did not have the type of documented evidence which I later obtained. But so much had happened that was indisputably the work of the CIA that even then I was justified in entertaining well-informed suspicions.

My first experience with CIA intervention in Cambodian affairs dates back to late 1955 when Allen Dulles, then head of the CIA, visited me in Phnom Penh. Prior to this, his brother, the late John Foster Dulles, had called on me in his capacity of U.S. Secretary of State, and had exhausted every possible argument to persuade me to place Cambodia under the protection of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. I refused, because such an arrangement was contrary to the pledge of neutrality I had made at the 1954 Geneva Conference—and which I was to reaffirm at the Bandung Conference in April 1955.

I considered SEATO an aggressive military alliance directed against neighbors whose ideology I did not share, but with whom Cambodia had no quarrel. I had made all this quite clear to John Foster Dulles, but his brother soon turned up with a briefcase full of documents "proving" that Cambodia was about to fall victim to communist aggression and the only way to save the country, the Monarchy, and myself was to accept the protection of SEATO. The "proofs" did not coincide with my own information, and I replied to Allen Dulles as I had replied to John Foster: Cambodia wanted no part of SEATO. We would look after ourselves, and continue to conduct ourselves as neutrals and as Buddhists. There was nothing for the CIA chief to do but pack up his dubious documents and leave.

[A CHRONICLE OF THE CONSPIRACY]

IN EARLY SEPTEMBER 1969, SEVEN MONTHS before the coup, I left by plane for Hanoi to attend funeral ceremonies for the revered founder and leader of the Vietnamese independence struggle—the late President Ho Chi Minh. I learned later that, while I was en route to Hanoi, Sirik Matak was telling his friends, of whom Lon Nol was one, that now was the perfect time to depose me: at the very moment that Vietminh and Vietcong are illegally occupying Cambodian soil, the "traitor" Sihanouk is flying to the funeral of their chief, and has had the audacity to order official ceremonies of mourning for him in Phnom Penh. What better occasion could arise? Sirik Matak predicted that if it were done immediately I would never dare to return. However, Lon Nol was not prepared to act immediately. His wife had died, and he was still occupied with the Buddhist burial. He wanted to wait for another propitious moment. (Lon Nol is extremely superstitious, and he knew that no oracle would recommend his interrupting his wife's interment to stage a coup d'etat.)

From sources in the United States, I learned later that the CIA had drawn up a directive a month earlier—around the time Lon Nol became Prime Minister—recommending support for a coup which a CIA contact on Lon Nol's staff had promised would take place in the near future. By the time I flew off to Hanoi in September, the CIA had already assured Lon Nol of its support. It remained only for him and Sirik Matak to work out the details and agree on the timing. As part of this ugly scenario, I was to be assassinated, if I happened to be in the country at the time.

After the plotters held back in September, elaborate arrangements were made to maintain direct CIA contact with Lon Nol. In October, Lon Nol suddenly found it

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necessary to go to France for treatment of a shoulder injury he had received in a jeep accident many months before. He entered the American Hospital at Neuilly-sur-Seine, on the outskirts of Paris. By a strange coincidence some American "patients" were admitted to the hospital at the same time as Lon Nol. These "patients" showed no trace of injury or evidence of malady. They were, in fact, American CIA "advisors," experts on coup-making. From this well-camouflaged headquarters, Lon Nol telephoned instructions daily to Sirik Matak and other co-plotters. This was the peak period for advanced planning in preparation for the coup the following March.

For more than a year prior to Lon Nol's October 1969 hospitalization in Paris, the CIA had been stealthily redeploying its forces by means of large-scale "desertions" staged among the Thailand-based Khmer Serei troops, well known as being wholly created and owned by and dependent on the CIA. At first only individuals defected, then squads and finally company-sized and even bigger units. Then, in January 1969, a group of just over 200 crossed into Cambodia from Thailand and immediately "deserted." In May a unit of over 300 men who had come from the Khmer Serei base at Phnom Malai "rallied" to our forces. Lon Nol, the Commander-in-Chief, gave himself credit for all this as a triumph on his propaganda efforts to win over the traitors. He decided to let them settle down in Battambang Province and elsewhere, more or less in units, and even incorporated some into the Phnom Penh garrison, as well as into the Military Police.

There was a curious sequel to one such mass "desertion." I had set aside one million riels from our National Mutual Aid work fund to give the "deserters" a new start in life, and to encourage others to follow suit. They returned the money, stating that, as they had "deserted for patriotic reasons," they could not accept it. Strange words from people who were supposed to have arrived with nothing but their weapons It later became clear that a million riels was small stuff compared to what they were getting from the CIA. I was perplexed by reports that, although they had refused my money, they were spending freely. These men had remained true to the code of the mercenary and were loyal to the far richer hand that fed them. They had been instructed to refuse money to convince me of their "patriotism!"

By the time of my visit to Hanoi in September, I was confronted with another curious matter. Premier Pham Van Dong, a most intelligent and sensitive person whose burning patriotism and honesty I appreciated the more I got to know him, brought to my notice something of which I had had no knowledge. The Chinese had been in the habit of buying our rice for dollars. The rice was then delivered to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The rice was sent in Army lorries to agreed-upon pickup points near the frontier, then carted off by the NLF. Lon Nol had been advanced an important sum of dollars for rice to be delivered in the latter half of 1969, but, according to Pham Van Dong, none had been delivered. The same thing had occurred with badly needed medicines. I promised to look into the matter. These were perfectly straight-forward commercial transactions that had been going on for years, and I could not understand what the difficulty was.

So by September our Vietnamese friends were justifiably astonished over the missing shipments, for we seemed to be deserting them when just the previous May we had elevated the status of the NLF representation in Phnom Penh to that of an embassy, and we had been one of the first states to recognize the Provisional Revolutionary Government, immediately after its formation. Shortly thereafter we had been the first country to receive an official visit from Huynh Tan Phat, their Prime Minister, for the signing of a trade treaty.

When Lon Nol had become Prime Minister in August, he had demanded, as the condition of heading the government, that he have full powers. Questioning him on my return from Hanoi, I received only evasive replies on the subject of the rice deliveries, and soon thereafter Lon Nol left for Peking to attend the National Day ceremonies marking the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic. Normally I would have gone, but Princess Margaret of England was visiting Cambodia at the time. Lon Nol was accorded every mark of attention throughout his stay, being given the place of honor alongside Chairman Mao Tse-Tung on the Tien An Men tribune for the October First parade.

Pham Van Dong was also in Peking and, through the intermediary of Chou En-Lai, he was able to raise the question of the non-deliveries of rice and medicines. Lon Nol refuse point-blank to give any explanation, giving as a pretext the presence of North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops in the frontier areas. I had a full report on this by the time he returned, and told him either to resume the shipments immediately or return the money; again he was evasive, and in a matter of days he had again departed, this time for his hospital rendezvous in Paris.

By this time Sirik Matak, Vice-Premier in Lon Nol's absence and now acting Premier, had circularized all ministers and heads of departments, forbidding them to send any dossiers directly to me as Head of State, which until then had been the custom. Everything had to be sent first to the Prime Minister's office, and I was to receive only what Sirik Matak wanted me to. Anyone disobeying this instruction was threatened with "severe" punishment. In retrospect it is clear that Lon Nol and Sirik Matak, once they had CIA backing for their intended coup, had begun to act as though it were already a *fait accompli.*

The Lon Nol-Sirik Matak cabinet, set up in August, represented the local *compradores,* feudal elements, and their foreign backers. After the cabinet was formed, Lon Nol had announced there was to be no further nationalization of private industries, and that some state enterprises would be restored to the private sector. On November 15, the ministers for the Economy and Commerce, Op Kim Ang and Prom Thos respectively, introduced measures to denationalize the import-export trade, to end the state monopoly on the production of alcoholic drinks, pharmaceuticals and other goods, and to permit the operation of private and foreign banks.

Six weeks later, at a session of the National Congress*

**The National Congress, the legislative body of the Sangkum Reastr Niyum (Popular Socialist Community). Its decisions were binding on the National Assembly up until the March 18 coup, after which it was suppressed.*

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from December 27 to 29, I left it to the delegates to decide for or against these retrograde measures, but I warned them of the evil consequences when "swindlers will infiltrate Cambodia together with the foreign banks in order to corrupt the elite, sap our economy, and try to change the regime." I cautioned them against the role of the "foreign banks which serve interests other than those of Cambodia, and transfer abroad huge amounts of currency, leaving an absurdly small amount to the State."

Sirik Matak, as I learned later, thought that this period of denationalization might be the propitious moment to strike, even though Lon Nol was still in France. A large group of "toughs" were mobilized to intimidate the Congress. These were above all the Khmer Serei infiltrated into the Phnom Penh garrison by Lon Nol and directed by his brother, Colonel Lon Non, a brutal fascist with political ambitions. My police informed me of the strong-arm infiltrators. But the Khmer Rouges (Cambodian Reds) had also mobilized large numbers of their men, in defense of my previous economic policies, which were supported by the vast majority of delegates and the public. When the time neared for a vote, it became clear that the public would vehemently oppose the new measures. The Khmers Sereis were afraid to expose themselves, and went with the majority, so the result was a unanimous vote against Sirik Matak's measures.

A few days after the Congress ended, I entered a hospital in Phnom Penh for medical treatment, and on January 7, I left for further treatment at Dr. Pathé's clinic at Grasse, France. I normally took a cure there every two years. I needed complete rest, and treatment for certain chronic ailments, and I thought it would be a salutary lesson for Sirik Matak and his supporters to give them a free hand, and let them see how well they could solve our economic ills by scrapping my former policies. After the cure, I intended to pay political visits to Paris, the Soviet Union, and China. I would seek economic, financial and military aid in these countries, and return home strengthened for a renewed effort to put our economy in order with the help of our real friends. I was convinced that within a few months the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak team would have so compromised itself through shady financial deals that public opinion would be glad to go back to the lines laid down during the first years of independence. I had no inkling of what had gone on in the American Hospital at Neuilly. My Minister of Security was Colonel Sosthené Fernandez, who later won notoriety at Saan where, though supposedly a devout Catholic himself, he utilized Vietnamese-Catholic men, women, and children as a shield to protect his troops advancing against the resistance forces. Fernandez knew of the plot to depose me, but never gave me the information.

ON FEBRUARY 18, 1970, LON NOL RETURNED to Phnom Penh with the completed plans in his pocket for what he was to do exactly a month later. He immediately toured the garrisons in the frontier areas, exhorting officers and men to prepare for the great confrontation with the "hereditary Vietnamese enemy." This was not his only activity.

On March 8, by order of Chan Sokhum, Minister of Information and Education, there were small anti-Vietcong demonstrations, mainly by schoolteachers, students and pupils, in the town of Svay Rieng and in five or six other small frontier towns in the "Parrot's Beak" area of Svay Rieng Province. These were dress-rehearsals for the "main attraction" to be staged in Phnom Penh on March 11. The loyal students had been cleverly fooled into believing the demonstrations were intended to "strengthen Sihanouk's hand" in my forthcoming talks with Moscow and Peking. The demonstrations were falsely reported in the Phnom Penh press (Lon Nol had already taken over the Ministry of Information and had the press and radio under his control) as "spontaneous patriotic outbursts of popular wrath."

The version of what happened next, given by T. D. Allman in the *Guardian* of London, is worth quoting and correcting—first, because it is the most authentic account published to date and, second, because it has acquired something of an official aspect. Senator Mike Mansfield, a staunch friend of Cambodia, felt impelled to record Allman's excellent series of three articles (which appeared on August 14 and 28 and September 18, 1971) in the U.S. Congressional Record (accompanied by a highly indignant commentary of his own).*

"After the small demonstration on March 8 for students and teachers in Svay Rieng, larger demonstrations were ordered for Phnom Penh. Government sound trucks urged the students to demonstrate, and officers of the government-created Assembly of Youth arranged for students to assemble at the two government embassies.

"However, the actual sackings of the embassies which, together with Sihanouk's fall and a Cambodian ultimatum to the communists, provided a *casus belli,* was arranged through the Cambodian High Command and actually carried out by squads of military police in plain clothes under the command of Lon Nol. . . ."(Here one must note that these squads were not just military police; there were also CIA-trained commandos recruited in South Vietnam, from the ethnic Cambodian minority and brought into Phnom Penh as storm-troopers for the plotters. Part of these special Lon Non units were later sent for advance training at a CIA-run base in Southern Laos. The base soon had to be closed down because the Lon Non officers became involved in opium smuggling in a manner too flagrant to be overlooked by the U.S. Army, which was becoming sensitive about the heroin being sold to the GIs in South Vietnam.)

Allman continues, "The demonstrations on March 11 were just one part of a planned two-part effort to oust the prince. 'We planned two demonstrations,' one of my sources said. 'One for the 11th to create the crisis, the other on March 16 to provide the pretext for ousting Sihanouk. . . .' " (This sounds like a technique the CIA must have taught Lon Nol at the cost of much effort, for he was not known among us for his quick grasp of political affairs.)

"However, the anti-Sihanouk demonstrations on March 16 failed when pro-Sihanouk students surrounded the Na-

**U.S. Congressional (Senate) Record of October 13, 1971, pages SI6252/3/4.*

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tional Assembly. The Phnom Penh police, also pro-Sihanouk, that day arrested 20 hand-picked demonstrators carrying anti-Sihanouk tracts as they moved towards the Assembly. As a result, I was told, 'it appeared for the moment we were foiled. . .' Inside the National Assembly . . . anti-Sihanouk deputies, including the acting president of the Assembly, In Tam (now Minister of the Interior), were waiting for the demonstration to materialize in the hope it would stampede Parliament into ousting Sihanouk. Instead 'we began to be attacked for our anti-Sihanouk statements. The Assembly adjourned in confusion. . . .'"

Some background on the makeup of the National Assembly at that time will be helpful here. Prior to the elections of September 1966 which resulted in the 6th National Assembly (which deposed me), the CIA had financed an all-out press campaign against my so-called dictatorship. I was accused of having adopted the Marxist "single-party system," of having "massacred Cambodian democracy." Tirades to this effect also poured out of the Khmer Serei transmitters which the CIA had put at Son Ngoc Thanh's disposal. Quite simply, I fell into a CIA trap. In response to the press campaign at home and abroad, I decided to allow a completely free choice of candidates, with no pre-selection from above. The result was chaos. There were as many as twenty or thirty candidates for a single seat. The richest of the bourgeoisie—the natural allies of the Americans—spent money like water, financing electoral campaigns for candidates who, for the most part, were merely stooges. Voters received clothing, medicine, free cinema and theater tickets, and toys and sweets for their children from the sponsors of candidates. There was no way for the voters to distinguish between demagogues and honest candidates—between truth and lies.

Small wonder that on March 16, 1970, faced with hostile demonstrations outside the National Assembly, these deputies were torn by conflicting emotions—fear of popular wrath if they took the irrevocable step demanded by Lon Nol and Sirik Matak—fear of the loss of the long-promised dollar dividends if they did not act now. The day passed without the decisive blow anticipated by the plotters.

Lon Nol and Sirik Matak were determined to repair the weaknesses that had been revealed in their position. On March 16 and 17, Lon Nol used his selected units to arrest Major Horl, the head of the Phnom Penh police, Colonel Oum Mannorine, Colonel Huor Truok, governor of the strategic mountain base of Kirirom, Colonel Pheng Phan Y of the Royal Army Staff Headquarters, Colonel Krauch Samrach, commander of the Parachute Units, the governor of Kandal Province adjoining Phnom Penh and about fifteen other high-ranking officers. The head of the Army Signal Corps was killed during this police action. I had originally set March 18 as the day for my return to Phnom Penh from Paris—that morning the airport was sealed off; there were barbed-wire barricades along the road from the airport into Phnom Penh; machine-gun nests were located at all principal street corners; and tanks and armored cars patrolled the streets. In other words, sufficient force had been deployed both to intimidate the citizens of Phnom Penh not to repeat their demonstrations, and to inject a little courage into the timid hearts of National Assembly politicians.

After Lon Nol's forces had taken over the civilian government of Phnom Penh and surrounded the National Assembly with tanks, the vote to oust me finally took place. The delegates were made to sign their ballots before dropping them into the urn! Considering the show of force outside, and the arrests of the previous day, it was no surprise that the vote was "unanimous."

One other element in the plot is worthy of mention. There was the mysterious case of the *Columbia Eagle,* on which two (!) U.S. sailors "mutinied" and took control of the ship. Shades of Captain Bligh and the *Bounty!* Ostensibly these men were war protestors who sailed the *Columbia Eagle* into Sihanoukville harbor on March 16 because they objected to carrying napalm bombs to Bangkok. It so happened that some French secondary school teachers at Sihanoukville took photos of the "highjacked" ship when it arrived, and again when it left. They noted that it had been very low in the water on arrival, and very high on departure.

And, after dark on the day the *Columbia Eagle* dropped anchor, the Sihanoukville-Phnom Penh road was suddenly closed to civilian traffic and convoys of G.M.C. military trucks from the Sihanoukville docks passed along the road to Phnom Penh until dawn the next morning. On the day of the coup, western correspondents noted that the troops massed outside the National Assembly were armed with brand-new M-16 rifles, weapons our army did not possess.

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[THE RESISTANCE BEGINS]

THE PROCLAMATION WHICH I DRAFTED on the way from Moscow to Peking and broadcast over Peking radio on March 23, 1970, had an immediate impact on my countrymen. I formally demanded the dissolution of the Lon Nol regime as illegal and unconstitutional, and called for the creation of a broad front of a national union and a national liberation army.

Knowing from the experience of our Vietnamese friends that our road to victory would be long and hard, I issued an appeal to my supporters inside the country to go underground and await arms and training, and asked those abroad to try to make their way to Peking. There were spontaneous uprisings and seizures of power all over the country, but the European press reported only those where journalists had easy access, those in the eastern provinces close to the capital. In vast areas, Lon Nol's administration simply evaporated before he could really get it organized, and it has not been reconstituted since. He tried to pass off the uprisings as the work of the Vietcong, but western journalists said otherwise. The *London Financial Times* accurately described them as "an almost spontaneous outburst of rural dismay at the departure of a ruler who made every effort to win the sympathy of the countryside."

Between March 26 and 30, hundreds of my compatriots –*unarmed*–were shot down in cold blood for demonstrating in my favor. In a broadcast on April 4, I reported that over three hundred patriots had been massacred, and advised my supporters to "go into the jungle and join the resistance forces already there," and where arms were now available.

One of the developments which pleased me most was receiving a message, dated March 26, three days after the broadcast Proclamation, from three leading Khmers Rouges. These were leftist deputies, the only honest men elected in the 1966 elections, who had fled to embryo resistance bases in the jungle. They were three of our outstanding intellectuals: Khieu Samphan and Hou Younn, both French-trained economists, and Hu Nim, a lawyer. In view of our rather strained relations in the past, I thought they might pose questions or demand conditions, or that there might have to be negotiations before they committed themselves. Nothing of the sort happened. They had monitored the Proclamation and replied: "That's marvelous. If you, the traditional leader of the Cambodian people, decide to fight with us–we demand nothing better."

When we formed the Royal Government of National Union, Khieu Samphan became Minister of Defense (later Deputy-Premier as well); Hou Yunn became Minister of the Interior, Communal Reforms and Cooperatives; Hu Nim, Minister of Information and Propaganda. That there had been no need for negotiations between us struck me very much. But the Khmers Rouges later told me: "We never suspected you of disloyalty. We always distinguished between you and creatures like Lon Nol and Sirik Matak."

For years Lon Nol had secretly and systematically worked to separate me from the left, especially during his earlier tenure as Prime Minister which began following the elections of 1966. In the spring of 1967, he deliberately provoked what became known as the "Samlaut affair." In Cambodia, the land traditionally belongs to him who clears and cultivates it. Lon Nol's troops arrived in the Samlaut area of Battambang Province and started evicting peasants who had cleared the land years before and had been cultivating it since. His officers produced documents to show that the land "legally" belonged to this or that local official, and ordered the peasants to leave.

The Samlaut peasants reacted as peasants have done throughout history. They resisted. There were mass demonstrations in their support in Battambang City. There are many Chinese and Vietnamese residents in Battambang, and they joined the protest. This gave Lon Nol the pretext he wanted in order to claim there was a Chinese-Vietminh plot to take over the country. The left-wing deputies were denounced as Maoists and had to flee Phnom Penh. Open warfare began between the peasants and the Lon Nol forces.

The CIA was not slow to take advantage of the situation. They started a campaign of false rumors and distributed fake tracts in the name of the Khmers Rouges – tracts which I denounced at the time as lies. The arm-chair experts who accused me of having turned to the right in 1967 should take into account the extremely complex situation. For the first time, there seemed to be substantial evidence that our independence was being threatened from the left, a posibility I had always resisted admitting.

There was a fascinating revelation into the situation by a CIA Green Beret, Captain John McCarthy, one of the accused in the case of the murder (which they referred to as "terminating with extreme prejudice") of an alleged CIA double agent of Khmer origin. McCarthy told how he had led a Khmer Serei unit deep into Cambodia in the summer of 1967 on "Operation Cherry," details of which he refused to reveal, except that it was part of a plan to "overthrow Prince Sihanouk."*

Fortunately the jeep accident in which Lon Nol was injured removed him from the political scene at a crucial moment, and I was able to look into the Samlaut affair myself. I found the peasants did indeed have justifiable grievances, and I dismissed the Governor of Battambang. I publicly acknowledged the responsibility of the authorities, rebuilt villages that had been destroyed by Lon Nol's troops, and settled the peasants back on their lands. Lon Nol's accident made it easy for me to reshuffle the cabinet to bring Penn Nouth in as Prime Minister. Nevertheless, Lon Nol's witch-hunt against leftist intellectuals, and the military campaign against the Battambang peasants, combined to drive both groups into an attitude of defiance of his regime.

But what had depressed me in 1967, seeing so many hundreds of Cambodian young people deserting home and school to march off to jungle and mountain guerrilla bases, turned out to be a blessing when I sounded the call for armed defiance in March 1970. The bases were already there; arms came soon after. The NLF, which had been very reluctant to give arms to the Khmers Rouges in 1967, thus risking a Cambodian civil war which might bring about U.S. intervention, had no such misgivings in March of 1970. Immediately after the coup, they started dispers-

**Reported in the* Norfolk Virginian Pilot, *Norfolk, May 22, 1971.*

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ing weapons in the frontier regions. The Americans were dismayed to find the storage areas almost empty when they overran them six weeks later. A high proportion of these arms went directly into the hands of the first units of our People's Liberation Armed Forces.

The rapid development of our armed resistance—something which astonished even our Vietnamese friends—was due to the fact that we already had veteran cadres, which had learned irregular warfare in protecting their own lives and their bases from Lon Nol's raiding expeditions. There were bases in Ratanakiri Province in the northeast, in the Elephant Mountains in the south, and the Cardamome Mountains in the west. The Khmers Rouges were quickly joined by tens of thousands of what some journalists called "Sihanoukists." These were peasants and townspeople, soldiers, including entire units of Army deserters, and ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese residents who joined us for ideological reasons, or because they saw no alternative.

Within six weeks, most of Cambodia was liberated, and our forces were knocking at the gates of Phnom Penh, eager to join our supporters inside the city. This, despite the importation of the "Mike Force" (KKK) commandos for the defense of the capital. The Lon Nol-Sirik Matak regime was sagging at the knees, when the United States invaded Cambodia with its own and Saigon forces on April 30, 1970, in one of the most flagrant acts of unprovoked aggression in modern history. No word except "aggression" can be applied to this act. Lon Nol, to cover up his own involvement, claimed that he had neither invited the Americans in, nor had received any warning of the invasion. It is hard to believe, but that is the official, on-the-record position of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak government. Two days after the invasion, on May 2, Lon Nol was reported by western journalists as pondering whether or not to lodge an official protest. In the end, he decided to "approve" the invasion! The best he could do to justify himself was to address a gathering of Buddhists on May 11, by which time scores of towns and villages had been reduced to rubble and ashes by U.S. air power, and hundreds of innocent civilians bombed, burned and machine-gunned to death by the American and Saigon troops.

With this inept, hypocritical sermon he tried to vindicate the slaughter of thousands of ethnic Vietnamese civilians in an officially-decreed rampage of racism and terror without precedent in our country's history. That he should seek to justify butchery and treason in the name of Buddhism, the most humane and tolerant of religious philosophies, provides a measure of the man's degeneracy:

"I address this appeal to my fellow countrymen who are Buddhist believers," he said in the text as broadcast over radio Phnom Penh. "It is believed our religion will last 5000 years. We are now at 2500 years, right in the middle of the Buddhist era. It is also believed that the Buddhist religion will prosper during the next 500 years. According to an oracle, the current war in Cambodia is a *religious war*. Our religion is Buddhism . . . The communists do not believe in religion because they do not believe in the existence of Buddha.

"I wish to inform my fellow countrymen who are Buddhists that an oracle has predicted everybody will enjoy equal rights. Everybody will be happy and good when this *religious war* ends. But while the war is still going on, you must respect your religion and pray. Those who follow this advice will be spared all misfortune and will be rewarded with security and prosperity. The oracle who predicted a *religious war* in the middle of this Buddhist era said that gold and silver palaces will be erected in the middle of the four branches of the Mekong, and that there will be killing in the middle of the four branches of the Mekong. Then the Bad King will flee, and a comet will appear . . . ."

I have emphasized the repeated use of the expression "religious war" in Lon Nol's ravings. This, together with the reference to the "four branches of the Mekong," seems to be an attempt to explain the massacre of over a thousand Vietnamese civilians, whose bodies, arms tied behind their backs, were found drifting down the Mekong in mid-April. This terrible stain on Cambodian honor was well reported in the world press at the time, but an April 15 dispatch from Jeff Williams of the Associated Press is especially worth quoting. Writing from the Neak Luong ferry crossing, he says: "Hundreds of executed Vietnamese bodies floated down the Mekong River Wednesday morning, many of them with hands tied behind them. It appeared to be the greatest mass killing yet disclosed in Cambodia. The stench swept across the broad waters, and ferry passengers gagged as the ferry churned through the bodies floating in the river.

"A police official at this ferry sixty kilometers southeast of Phnom Penh said he had counted 400 bodies during the morning. Still the bodies came, and the bodies could be seen stretching for more than one mile up the river until they disappeared behind a bend."

With the invasion of April 30, Nixon's military strategists hoped to crush our soldiers before they could get organized, and to smash the NLF in a vise between Lon Nol's forces and their own. The western jaw of the vise did not close because Lon Nol's forces had no stomach for the fight.

The overwhelming bulk of supplies in the frontier bases have been transported elsewhere, or are in our hands: the "sanctuaries" now spread westward to include most of Cambodia. Nixon's Cambodian adventure resulted in the destruction of many Cambodian towns and villages, and the loss of thousands of Cambodian lives, but from a military viewpoint it was a disaster for the United States and its puppets—a disaster the extent of which Nixon has never dared reveal to the American people.

The invasion of April 1970 was the first "baptism of fire" for our People's National Liberation Armed Forces of Cambodia. Within a very short time, Khieu Samphan and his comrades set up three types of forces: local guerrillas, regional guerrillas, and a regular army. If, in the beginning, these bodies lacked anything in equipment, they more than made up for it by their superb morale. How could it be otherwise when they had seen their homes looted and burned; their parents massacred; their mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters raped. If there were Cambodians who still had no clear idea of the difference between a Lon Nol and a Sihanouk after the coup of March 18, 1970, there were none after the aggression committed on April 30. The seeds of our defiance fell on soil fertilized by the blood of our people.

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THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE 25 cents

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Janis Joplin: Death Watch

"She didn't simply 'sing' a song—she ravaged it, tore it to shreds, exploded it. And yet, at the right moment, she could be incredibly gentle, caressing each word with tenderness and understanding."

—Clive Davis, President
Columbia Records

SHE WAS A BLUES SINGER, but her world was the world of the rock and roll circuit: San Francisco, L. A., New York, Detroit, Toronto.

She was one of only two women to really make it on that circuit, with the rock and roll audiences. The other is Grace Slick.

The list stops there.

Plenty of others have tried, and many have achieved a degree of success, but all have been stopped at the barrier between acceptance and superstardom — or else have gone *around* the barrier via folk, soul, or MOR (middle-of-the-road) pop-music sludge. Joni Mitchell, Judy Collins, Joan Baez, Aretha Franklin, Gladys Knight, Diana Ross, Karen Carpenter, Cass Elliot. Mama Cass came the closest, but, first, it was as a member of a group rather than on her own, and, second, when she tried it as a single she flopped.

Janis Joplin was a *Success.*

She made it big, all the way to the cover of *Newsweek,* although it took two tries to get her there. The first time she was scheduled, the cover story was scrubbed to make room for the story of the death of Dwight Eisenhower. "The old bastard," Janis is quoted as saying, "why did he have to croak on my week!"

Well, she got her week later on, and she got her revenge in a way when she died, and somebody else got scrubbed from the cover of *Rolling Stone* to make room for Janis's obituary.

If you want to be cynical about these posthumous "live" albums cobbled together from old tapes, you can say that Columbia or Warners are out to gouge a last ghoulish buck from the carcass of their deceased properties. Or, if you want to be innocent, you can thank them for making available every last precious minute that they have of Janis, Jimi, Duane, King Curtis, Jun-

by Richard Lupoff

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ior Parker or whoever.

Probably both notions are right. They're unquestionably out to make every nickel they can, but it's a service, too, of sorts, to let us have those precious performances to hear over and over. Take your pick: nobody's *making* you rush down to the record store, if you're strong enough to resist the advertising pitch they lay on you, if you *want* to resist the advertising pitch they lay on you.

Why do we make even greater heroes of our dead heroes? Why does the finality of death make our idols more precious even than they were when we worshipped them in life?

Janis Joplin has been dead for going on two years, and nobody is quite sure to this day why. Or if they are they aren't telling.

But Columbia records has released two albums of hers just as if she'd never taken that heroin overdose in her L.A. motel room. The first was *Pearl*, which she'd recorded just before she died and which was mixed and released shortly after.

The second, *Joplin In Concert*, happened just a few weeks ago. It's a double album, one disk of songs from Big Brother concerts, mostly in 1968, and one with Full Tilt Boogie, the *Pearl* band, cut on June 28 and July 4, 1970, in Calgary and Toronto. It is a fine album, especially the Full Tilt material, but beyond the value of the music is Janis talking between—and occasionally within—the songs.

Janis said some things on that tour with Full Tilt Boogie that are preserved on the *Joplin In Concert* album, that can give us some food for thought at least, if not any final answers to those questions. They tell a lot about Janis Joplin, and they tell us something, too, about ourselves.

Listen to her:

"I'll do a song, man, that I'll tell you, you could apply it to, well, just about anything you want to, but it could almost be even called *the truth*. It's talking about everybody's life, and what passes by you, and what you miss and what you grab. 'Cause it ain't gonna be there when you wake up, man."

Listen to her:

"Every time you're looking for a little piece of action and you ain't gettin' it, you know what you better do, baby, you better try harder."

And listen, listen to her:

"I don't understand why half the world is still crying, man . . . when the other half the world is still crying too. I can't get it together. I mean, if you got a cat for one day, say maybe you want a cat for 365 days, right? You ain't *got* him for 365 days, you got him for one day, man. Well I'll tell you that one day better be your *life*. Because you can say, oh man you could *cry* about the other 364, but you gonna lose that one day, and that's all you got. You gotta call that love, man, that's what it is. If you got it today, you don't want it tomorrow. 'Cause you don't need it.

" Cause as a matter of fact tomorrow never happens—it's all the same fucking day.

"See, you gotta, when you wanna hold somebody, you gotta hold him like it's the last minute of your life, baby. You gotta hold on, hold on, hold on."

JANIS ARRIVED IN San Francisco from Port Arthur, Texas in 1966 and worked with various semi-pro bands until fellow Texan Chet Helms (of Family Dog fame) introduced her to Big Brother and the Holding Company. In time she not only became their lead singer and the old lady of their guitarist Sam Andrew, but she was taken under the wing of Nancy Gurley, the old lady of Big Brother's other guitarist, Jim Gurley.

According to people who knew her in 1966–67, Janis was a mess. She didn't know how to act, she didn't know how to dress, she didn't even know how to roll a joint. Nancy Gurley taught her to be a hippie chick.

But she was still a tough Texas broad. One night in July of '67 she came strolling out of the Green Valley restaurant in North Beach with a bottle of Southern Comfort in one hand and a male escort on her other arm. Two black toughs spotted Janis and her friend, started hassling them, roughed up her friend and succeeded in chasing him off.

Whereupon Janis clouted one of the toughs on the side of the head with her Southern Comfort bottle and decked him flat. Then she headed after his partner, swinging the bottle and screaming "You motherfucker bastard, push my man around, you sonovabitch!" He split at top speed.

The music world agrees that the Monterey Pop Festival in '67 was Janis's and Big Brother's major break. There they were playing with the Mamas and the Papas, Jimi Hendrix, Otis Redding (who was killed shortly after in a plane crash). If you were at Monterey or if you've seen the festival film, you can see what happened.

She tore the place up, and she did it with raw energy. She was frantic, possessed by a demon; she looked and sounded as if she was going to explode if she couldn't get it all out in a series of non-stop screaming bursts, barely pausing for a gasp of breath in between. She could leave an audience trembling and limp from the expenditure of energy.

Although Big Brother and the Holding Company's first album, on little Mainstream Records, was issued the next year, little of the explosiveness of Monterey is apparent in it. The sound is technically not very good, the performances are hardly adequate, and the material and mood are scattered.

The band didn't know where it was headed, and the album goes in all directions, from blues like "Bye, Bye Baby" and Gurley's "Easy Rider" and "Down on Me" that became one of Janis's classics, to hokey woo-woo psychedelics like bassist Peter Albin's "Light is Faster than Sound" and Moondog's "All is Loneliness."

The same year Big Brother put together what is still the definitive Janis Joplin album, *Cheap Thrills*. This was their first album for Columbia, which put out all that followed. It's partly a live album, laid down at the original Fillmore Auditorium in San Francisco's blackest ghetto, and it may have been Janis's Fillmore dates with Big Brother that evoked the classic evaluation of Janis's whole career: *She taught the world that a white woman could sing.*

"Piece of My Heart" is pure Janis: urgent, desperate, needing, screaming; she's the essence of the female willing to let a man trample her just so she gets him into her bed. Then she'll claw him half to death in their mutual ecstasy.

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It sounds sexist in this era of women's struggle but there *are* differences beyond those in the plumbing and Janis was the embodiment of the fullest female archetype, the total feel and smell and taste of woman.

She had a surprising predilection for old songs, and gave new currency to the few she recorded. Gershwin's "Summertime" on *Cheap Thrills* is one of the best tracks she ever laid down; she turned it into a *slow* screamer, the agony in her voice could have come from someone being roasted *slowly* to death.

And Rodgers and Hart's "Little Girl Blue," on *Kozmic Blues*, is a sad, tender heartbreaker that is simply amazing to listen to. She could do tender things; she must have had the proverbial little girl's heart inside that rough, powerful persona.

After *Cheap Thrills* Albert Grossman came to see Janis. Grossman was regarded as a managerial mastermind: he handled Dylan, he had Peter, Paul & Mary. A person who was present at that meeting says that Grossman told Janis that Big Brother was a go-noplace band, a mediocre backing group for her talent, that the way to success was to split from Big Brother and get a *good* band together who would *know* they were a backing group and not pretend to be her equals.

She listened. She took Sam Andrew from Big Brother, hired a bunch of sidemen, and started working on an act. The night Janis debuted her new band in New York was the only time I ever actually laid eyes on her. It was a miserable, chilling night in February 1969: there had been a blizzard the day before and the streets were full of ice and slush.

But the Fillmore East was packed; it was even announced that Benny Goodman had come to see this blues sensation. The Grateful Dead had been booked in to play a warmup set. Then after an intermission Janis and her band appeared on stage. She looked beautiful; she'd worked off the chunkiness of her Big Brother days and was breathtaking in ass-tight velvet slacks and a clinging blouse. She took the microphone and walked to the front of the stage and in her Texas twang, in a scared-awed voice, said, "I hope you enjoy the show, Mr. Goodman." And the music started.

It was a disaster.

The band wasn't together. Janis's voice was good but she was distracted by their bad playing, they lost the pace and she tried frantically to get them together between numbers. . . .

Janis and that band got out *Kozmic Blues* which wasn't nearly as bad an album as a lot of people say, then she laid back for a while and then came the Full Tilt Boogie band with only Brad Campbell retained from *Kozmic Blues*.

And then in the fall of 1970, with *Pearl* all but finished, Janis OD'd.

It wasn't a musical failure that made her turn to smack. She'd had a bad time with the *Kozmic Blues* band but Full Tilt Boogie was a good band. *Pearl* was a good album and Janis's singing was fine.

When you listen to the final Full Tilt Boogie side on the *In Concert* album, to "Try" and "Get it While You Can" and "Ball and Chain," and listen to Janis talking to that audience between songs, you can feel her pain.

Why smack? Wasn't Southern Comfort and grass enough?

"I don't understand. How come you're gone, man?" Janis said that.

Smack is the drug for the blues and for the blues singer. Alcohol will do for a while, but skag is where it's really at. It got Billie Holiday, it got Janis, it nearly got Johnny Winter. Jimi Hendrix transcended a blues following and reached a racially integrated, rock-oriented audience, but the blues snuck up behind him and smack got him.

The blues is a music of pain.

Talk to the medical staff at the Haight-Ashbury Clinic or any other group trying to save people from junk and they'll tell you the same thing: heroin is the perfect tranquilizer. It doesn't matter what your pain is, what your problem is: a good shot of smack and it's one euphoric rush and then you're on the nod. A few try it once or a few times and get out. The rest kill themselves, either little by little or all at once.

Janis did it the way she did everything: all at once. Los Angeles Coroner Noguchi ruled that it was an accidental overdose, rather than deliberate suicide. That means that Janis was only trying to kill herself temporarily.

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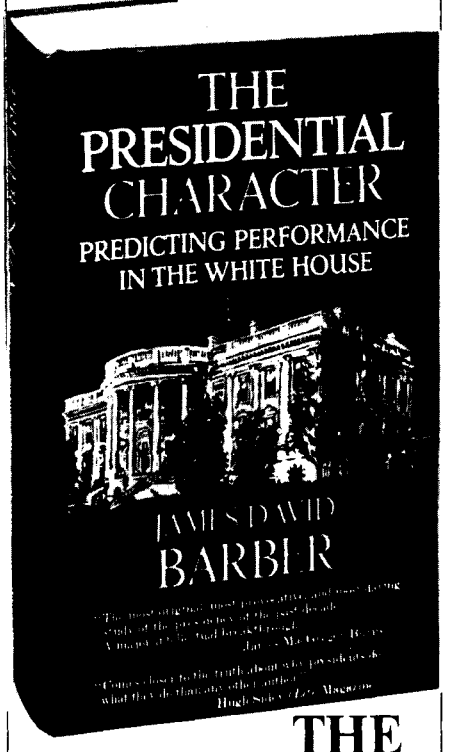

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Records

MOONSHOT, Buffy Sainte-Marie [*Vanguard*] I've always regarded Buffy Sainte-Marie as one of the innumerable brigade of sincere young persons with acoustic instruments whose songs of tender emotion and social outrage I find mostly pretty boring. *Moonshot* is in a whole different bag–she's gone from the quiet guitar and inconsequential studio backing to a powerful, big-band rock sound, with a gutsy, punchy, vocal attack that can stand up to that kind of backing and still dominate an album.

The songs are effective whether they are the inevitable love ballads, strong statements of Buffy's Indian identity, or strange science-fiction-fantasy visions like the title song.

Buffy Sainte-Marie is capable of writing lines that jump out of a loudspeaker and grab the listener by the mind. From "Moonshot," this one: *I know a boy from a tribe so primitive he can call me up without a telephone.*

There are whole novels buried in Buffy Sainte-Marie's lyrics, and listening to her sing them (and those of songs by Gene Thomasson, Arthur Crudup, Mickey Newbury and Towns Van Zandt) in her unique, sometimes harsh, hugely tremoloed voice, is a striking experience.

THICK AS A BRICK, Jethro Tull [*Reprise*] I'll have to admit that this album has me utterly baffled. Jethro Tull is a group that has intrigued me from the time of their first American tour and their first album, *This Was;* from the start the group has been dominated by Ian Anderson's singing, flute-playing, composing, and incredible maniac posturings and on-stage speedraps.

Some of the other members of the band obviously couldn't take it–Mick Abrahams early departed to start a band called Blodwyn Pig, Glenn Cornick more recently quit Tull to found Wild Turkey. But, if you could hang in there, some of the music was fine. "Look into the Sun" from the *Stand Up* album, for instance, is amazingly beautiful, while some of Anderson's lyrics are quite telling.

But *Thick as a Brick* . . . I just haven't been able to fathom. The title piece is a long poem by the almost certainly mythical 8-year-old Gerald Bostock, set to music and sung by Anderson, and filling the entire 44 minutes of the album. The musical content is pleasant but hardly striking–only the section accompanying the portion of the poem which begins "In the clear white circles of morning wonder" seems to have any particular zing to it–and the poem itself may be simply a piece of dadaistic put-on.

Or it may be a masterpiece. I have not been able to figure it out, but Ian Anderson is a sufficiently interesting artist, and has shown sufficient merit in the past, that I will have to assume that there's *something* here, and listen to it some more.

COUNTRY COOKING [*Rounder*] Bluegrass is a special taste which, in the growing interest in many musical forms, has experienced somewhat of a renaissance lately. Country-western groups like the Flying Burrito Brothers have incorporated elements of it into their music (which itself was a meld of folk, rock, and country influences), traditional bluegrass musicians like Lester Flatt, Earl Scruggs, and Bill Monroe have begun to achieve popularity outside the narrow geographic area where they have worked in the past, and young popular groups like High Country, who would have been rocking and rolling a few years ago, have instead got into country-western or bluegrass. I suppose the first such group, to give credit where it's due, was the Holy Modal Rounders.

Not to detract from any of these, I would like to bring Country Cooking to your attention. Their album on Rounder Records is an excellent example of the bluegrass sound, with banjo and fiddle featured. The six members of Country Cooking are not a full-time band–a couple are still in college, two others are members of another smalltime band, and one works mostly as a studio musician breaking away to play with Country Cooking when their mutual schedules dovetail.

The album is not widely distributed–Rounder Records is a smal

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co-operative interested in music rather than a large corporation interested in profit. If you're into bluegrass, you would really do well to order *Country Cooking* ($3.50 a copy) directly from Rounder at 727 Somerville Avenue, Somerville, Mass. 02143.

COME FROM THE SHADOWS, Joan Baez *[A&M]*. Anyone who's been active in music as long as Joan Baez, and done as many albums as she has (I lost count somewhere past a dozen), can be forgiven for getting tired. I think that was the case with Joan Baez's final Vanguard album, last year's *Blessed Are*—despite the AM success of "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down" and several other tracks that held up well when taken singly.

Whatever that album lacked, the new *Come From The Shadows* shows none of the fatigue and generally low energy of *Blessed Are;* the dozen songs in *Shadows,* half of them by Baez and the rest from divergent sources, have a pleasant sound, a variety of theme and treatment that make the album the best that Joan Baez has done in several years.

Considered purely as music, *Come From The Shadows* is somewhere between a success and a triumph. Joan Baez uses her voice on it gracefully and modestly; the backing musicians are some of the best studio men in the business, including the hugely talented and often overlooked Buck Wilkin. For its message, the album reflects the familiar line that we have come to expect from Joan Baez; I find her goodhearted if occasionally naive, and would take strong issue with her Bob-dyolatry—but this is not the place to debate that topic.

PROCOL HARUM LIVE IN CONCERT WITH THE EDMONTON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA [A&M] Ever since the incomprehensible but impressive-sounding "Whiter Shade of Pale" Procol Harum has produced a series of somewhat varied and always interesting studio albums, whether it was the Bach-like, religious-sounding *Shine on Brightly,* the nautical ballad-cycle *Salty Dog,* the blues influenced *Home* or the electric *Broken Barricades.*

Their live performances, by contrast, have always come across to me as static recreations of their studio music, necessarily lacking in the production quality of the studio and sadly missing the usual showmanship, elaboration, and personal rapport that marks the successful concert.

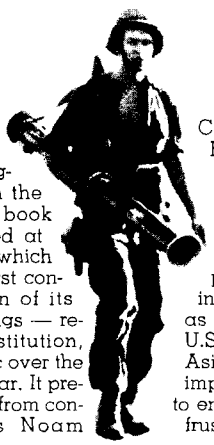
This "live" album introduces a somewhat altered lineup of musicians in Procol Harum, a 52-member symphony orchestra acting as a "backing group," and a 24-voice chorus for supporting vocals.

The material is all familiar from earlier Procol albums and tours, and the giant sound of the symphony and chorus, however effective it might have been to the recording audience of 3000 persons, is mixed down on the record to the point where it really makes little difference.

The net result is a sort of variorum edition of some of Procol Harum's better material, and generally the more familiar studio versions are superior to the Edmonton renderings.

Back to the composing room, Gary Brooker and Keith Reid, and then back to the rehearsal hall and the recording studio, please, Procol

Can Congress End This War?



In July 1971, seventeen congressmen sponsored a conference in Washington, D. C. centering on the Pentagon Papers. This book divulges what happened at that historic conference, which might well signal the first congressional recognition of its obligations — and failings — regarding itself, the Constitution, and the American public over the issues of the Vietnam War. It presents vital new material from conference participants Noam Chomsky, Daniel Ellsberg, Ernest Gruening, Anthony Russo, Marcus Raskin and many others, including prominent Vietnamese leaders.

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Foreword by Ernest Gruening

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Harum, and we'll file this outing as a well-intentioned error in judgment.

TAKE A SAD SONG, Godfrey Daniel [*Atlantic*] During the 1950s I was puzzled by the appeal of the then-emerging rock and roll. Bill Haley and the Comets, Little Richard, and the master Chuck Berry offered high spirits and immense energy but Elvis Presley seemed to me a vulgarian exploiter (I haven't revised that opinion much) and the innumerable oo-boop-sh' bamming trios and quartets struck me as brainlessness incarnate while the "Teen Angel" school of maudlin slop must have included a greater percentage of self-parody than any of its practitioners ever admitted to.

Yet we see a medium-scale revival of all of the schools of 50s rock. The Mothers of Invention satirize 50s rock viciously (and effectively); Sha-na-na recreates it with a touch of good-natured parody; Berry and Presley are still around and still as good and as bad as they were a generation ago.

Godfrey Daniel is a group of anonymous musicians – I suspect some Big Names among them but I can't fathom who – and in this album they have rung a new change on the 50s revival. They've taken a dozen songs of recent vintage – "Hey Jude" and "Let It Be" from the Beatles' book, the Stones' "Honky Tonk Woman," Joni Mitchell's "Woodstock," songs by Sly Stewart, Jimi Hendrix, John Fogerty and others – and done them over in full-out oo-boop-sh'bamming 50s style, complete with falsetto harmonies, sloppy saxophone solos and sometimes altered lyrics.

The album is a lot of fun. Godfrey Daniel is a splendid joke. I just hope no one mistakes it for anything else.

–D. L.

UNCLE BOB *(From Page 8)*

They are tracking your every move. So think twice before you catch that last train out of town leaving a string of unpaid bills behind you, because the folks in the next town use the same credit files, and they'll be waiting at the station.

Bob Cratchit is the pseudonym of RAMPARTS' *new White-Collar-Crime Editor. His column will appear with the regularity of our communications with Soledad.*

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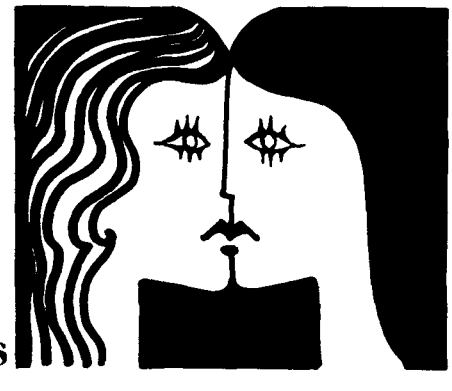

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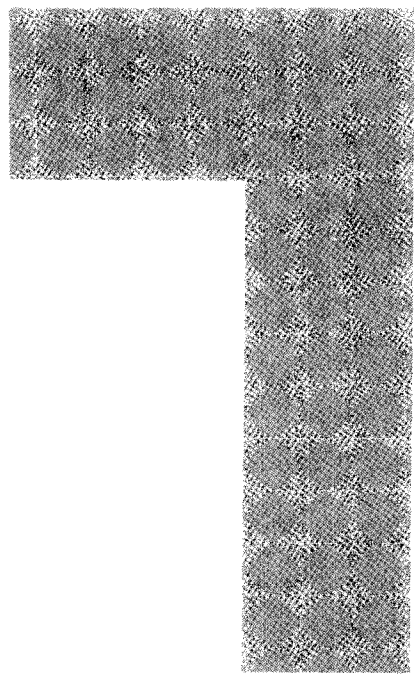

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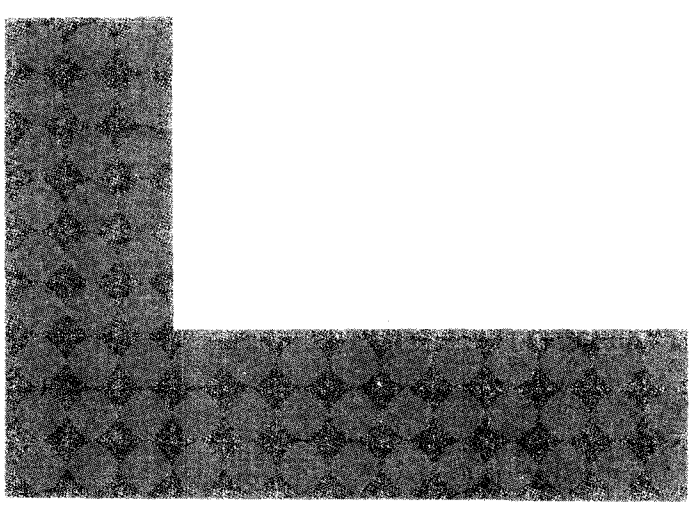

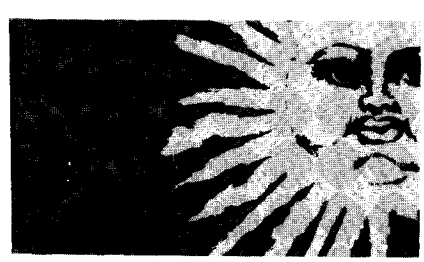

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The publisher is Quimantu—the fourth largest publishing house in Chile. Quimantu was nationalized last year after its employees struck to force the owners to accept government takeover. It is now deeply involved in some very imaginative literacy programs for adults and children (see Ramparts article, March 1972).

Profits from the sales of these posters will be donated directly to Quimantu to support its literacy programs in Chile.

These are the only posters available outside of Chile, and will not be sold in poster shops. The larger posters are huge. Our photograph above of the actual posters tends to understate their dimensions. For example, most posters sold these days measure 24" x 18", or about ⅓ the size of the 43 x 30 posters above. We have reproduced these posters in the exact size and colors of the originals.

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